NRA CODE

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXL NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3, 1935 No. 3639

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THE NATION. Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second class matter December 13, 1887, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1935, by the Nation, Inc.; Oswald Garrison Villard, Publisher.
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AFTER MORE THAN TWO MONTHS of haggling and dispute, the Administration's social-security bill is to be reported out with drastic revisions. Some of the changes are in the right direction, but the majority only serve to weaken the bill still further. The most commendable alteration is a provision outlawing segregated company unemployment reserves, and requiring the states to adopt a system of pooled reserves in order to obtain federal aid. This constitutes a definite rejection of the so-called Wisconsin Plan, and will necessitate a complete reorganization of that state's unemployment-insurance system. But it was necessary if state legislation is to possess even a modicum of uniformity. On the other hand, the revised bill provides for an increase in the contributory old-age annuity tax, and permits states to choose whether or not the contributions for unemployment insurance are to be deducted from wages. Farmers, domestics, casual laborers, employees of non-profit institutions, and seasonal workers are to be "exempted" from the compulsory features of both unemployment and old-age protection. Thus in addition to the eleven million now unemployed, for whom no provision is made, the bill will exclude precisely those workers whose need for security is the greatest. Moreover, since more than half of the state legislatures have already adjourned until 1937, it is evident that the scheme cannot possibly come into operation in most states until 1939 or 1940. The one exception is New York, where the Assembly has passed an unemployment-insurance bill which is slightly more liberal than that drawn up by the Administration. If it becomes law in its present form, unemployment benefits of from $5 to $15 a week for a maximum of 15 weeks will be available in 1938 to workers of two years' standing. The purpose of the bill, according to its sponsor, Assemblyman Kilgrew, "is not to provide luxury, nor place unemployment at a premium," but to assure the worker and his family "enough income to maintain a roof over his head and to buy food and clothes." We leave it to Mr. Kilgrew to tell us how this is to be done on an average of less than $12 a week per family.

THE EFFECT of the European war scare on Washington has been to spur the formulation of a new doctrine of neutrality. Army and navy sentiment at present favors the complete abandonment of the freedom of the seas and the withdrawal of all protection of war-time trade under the American flag. This is isolationism carried to its logical finality, and the idea is believed to have the provisional backing of the President. The State Department is not willing to go so far, and would involve neutrality with at least some measure of consultation with other governments. The army and navy doctrine at present is that our defensive activities should be restricted to an arc drawn from Alaska through Hawaii to the Panama Canal zone, that we should limit our potential interests to Central America, and at the same time build up a powerful army, navy, and air force. This is the abandonment of the defense of the Philippines and the curtailment of our interests in the Pacific. The inconsistency of maintaining a strong army and navy which will not have to protect American interests in Asia or war-time trade under the American flag does not occur to our militarists. But their moderation in not wishing to map out a wider field of responsibility is a sign of the times. The mood in Washington is to keep us out of war at all cost, now that war looms nearer. It also is to put up a great show of strength. If we continue with this contradictory policy it will take years before we are ready to maintain peace by the more civilized and economical system of collective action.

HUEY LONG demonstrated how little he cared about the freedom of the press when he passed a bill taxing the advertising revenue of Louisiana newspapers. It was not a money-raising device but a characteristic Long stratagem, at once punishing his enemies and giving him power over their economic existence. The tax was to be only 2 per cent, but it was much more, a death-dealing weapon. It could be raised to 10 or even 100 per cent, which Huey knew. The newspapers at once attacked the constitutionality of the law and they have won their case before a special federal court of three judges. Much has been heard of late from publishers about the freedom of the press, which the public has been told depends on the right to fire reporters and engage children to peddle newspapers. The Louisiana decision is a victory for a free press in realms of reality, and is of

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historic importance. The right to tax the press is the right to destroy it, and as such it has not been exercised in Anglo-Saxon countries since the middle of the last century in England. Then the tax on newspapers was conspicuously applied to keep journalism from criticizing the government. Huey Long revived the practice because he was defied by the press in his last campaign. It was his practical application of fascism, and it should be noted by those who believe that Huey is a democrat merely because he says so.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S decision to remove all restrictions on the planting of spring wheat comes as welcome news both to the consumer and the farmer. For the consumer it offers hope that bread, at least, will not skyrocket out of reach of the average wage-earner, while the farmer who is fortunate enough to live outside the drought-ridden area is given an opportunity to earn an honest dollar through the production of a commodity which is sorely needed by the community. The fact that benefit payments are to be continued despite the abolition of crop-restriction indicates, however, that the United States is still a long way from a solution of its agricultural problem. The essentials of that problem may be stated quite simply. Owing to the high level of domestic costs—the result of our extremely high tariff—American farmers have gradually found it more and more difficult to dispose of their surplus crops on the markets of the world. Of this problem there are only two genuine solutions. If we are to have an efficient use of our man power and natural resources, we must either (1) lower our costs of production so as to regain the foreign markets, or (2) reorganize our entire domestic economy in such a way as to shift hundreds of thousands of marginal farmers into some more profitable enterprise. The effect of the AAA subsidy runs counter to both of these solutions. It raises domestic prices to such a height that the farmer can no longer dispose of his surplus abroad, and yet it keeps marginal producers on the land by paying them not to produce—except when crops are bad. By the combined efforts of man and nature we have made gigantic strides toward eliminating the plenty from the troublesome paradox of "poverty in the midst of plenty," but in so doing we have merely extended the area of poverty.

DICTATORSHIP has been established in Haiti. President Sténio Vincent has removed the Senate majority of eleven which had opposed his policies. By his orders a docile majority of the Chamber of Deputies has picked eleven other senators. The *modus operandi* of this coup d'état was as follows: A nation-wide "plebiscite" was called by Vincent to express approval or disapproval of the policies expounded by him in a recent public address. These included the purchase by the Haitian government of the Banque d'Haiti from the National City Bank of New York, and the creation of a monopoly for the export of bananas. As the purpose and manner of this "grande consultation nationale" was clearly foreseen by every thinking Haitian, the Senate majority declared that this method of securing legislation was wholly unconstitutional, and that it would not be bound thereby. The referendum, indeed, proved the crudest and most barefaced fraud. In conducting it Vincent took a leaf out of the United States marine corps book. When in 1917 our military desired a new constitution, prepared in Washington, for Haiti, they dissolved the duly elected Haitian Congress for refusing to vote it, and then conducted a plebiscite for its ratification. At that time Sténio Vincent —a patriot fighting for the freedom of his people—protested against this illegality. The marines used ballots of two colors, marked respectively *oui* and *non,* and there was an obvious scarcity of the latter; in many polling places they were literally not available. The Haitian referendum of February 10, 1935, used the same technique. The result was announced as 454,357 *oui's* against 1,172 *non's*—a ratio of 400 to one!

A PRESIDENTIAL DECREE thereupon declared that since the eleven senators had placed their will above that of the people, and since their attitude constituted a rebellion against the popular sovereignty, they could be considered as having resigned, and the Chamber of Deputies was called upon to choose eleven other senators to replace the "rebels." This was done. Thus the legislative branch in Haiti has become a rubber stamp, thanks to the force supplied by the efficient Garde, trained by United States marines. The eleven senators are men of proved courage, men who more than any others embody the brains and character in Haitian public life. They opposed Vincent's measures partly because of intrinsic objections to the projects themselves, partly because they foresaw his now manifest objective of overthrowing representative government and, contrary to express constitutional provisions, perpetuating himself in office when his term expires in 1936. The tragic aspect of this whole indecent business is its needlessness. The opposition to Vincent has been wholly parliamentary, analogous to the opposition in the United States Senate to some of the Administration's measures. Haiti, having recovered its independence and its own civil government, had every prospect for an orderly, civilized administration, for contentment and peace. Vincent, who for years was enlisted in seeking these objectives, has now destroyed the possibility of their realization. He has headed his country into a course which is pathetically predictable. The civil liberties which he has already largely suppressed will become extinct. And if official violence breeds resentment, retaliation, and chaos, the blame will belong to Sténio Vincent.

FORMER PRESIDENT HOOVER'S message to the thinkers and statesmen of the California Republican Assembly—the opening blast in the attempted return to power of the Republican Party—was almost as remarkable as his best-seller, "The Challenge to Liberty." The seer of Palo Alto again pleaded for "maintaining and perfecting our system of orderly individual liberty under constitutionally conducted government," for "effective reforms of abuses in business and finance . . . through regulation and not through bureaucratic dictation or government operation," and against "regimentation and socialism." He was against "violation of the foundations of human liberty," but he came out flat-footedly for "common sense" and also for the American home. At the age of sixty-one, after four years in the White House and two years of heavy thinking in the solitude of his study, Mr. Hoover is more convinced than ever that "the family and the home, whether farmer, worker, or business man [note the impartiality] . . . is the unit of American life. It is the moral and spiritual as well as the economic

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unit," and from it issue all the "spiritual blessings of the nation." We congratulate Mr. Hoover for holding steadfastly to his ideas.

DR. CHARLES A. BEARD appeared in a new guise in Washington when he effectively muckraked the bankers before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, as representative of the Independent Bondholders' Committee. The historian brought such grave charges that Senator Dieterich, for one, was shocked and urged him to moderate his accusations. But being a scientist, Dr. Beard had his proof in his pocket, and Senator Dieterich had to subside. Dr. Beard told how the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway in the first year of the depression began closing its shops and laying off men under instructions from its New York bankers that expenses must be cut at whatever cost to show a profit of $6.41 a share for 1930. It was necessary to show such large earnings, said Dr. Beard, because the people in control of the railway were engaged in speculative ventures on the Stock Exchange and money had to be raised from the investing public to finance these ventures. In vain the president of the road sent pleading letters to New York, saying that the reduction in operating expenses was reducing upkeep beyond the point of safety. As many as twenty-five broken rails a day were being found on the road. The bankers had their way.

ANOTHER AMAZING CHARGE brought by Dr. Beard was that Speyer and Company, bankers for the same road, had bought a million dollars' worth of shares in another railroad in 1929, by the next year had lost $600,000 in the deal, and thereupon discovered that they had bought the shares on the account of the St. Louis and San Francisco, which was required to bear the loss. This fact was finally established this year, said Dr. Beard, when officials of the St. Louis and San Francisco admitted they had known nothing of their "purchase" until told of their loss. Under Morgan control, he declared, the Missouri Pacific's funds were used to gamble in its own shares, and the railroad lost millions. More recently railroads, he said, were receiving loans from the RFC which they then passed on to their bankers, who, under the law, are unable to borrow from that agency. The connection between railroads and their bankers was supposedly severed by law shortly before the war, but Dr. Beard told how the bankers had kept control by appointing nominees to represent them on railroad boards. There is enough material in these charges alone to justify the investigation into the connection between railroads and bankers called for in Senator Wheeler's resolution.

WE ARE GLAD to report that the bill passed by the Arkansas Assembly making sedition a felony and making almost any liberal activity seditious was not passed by the Senate. And since the legislature has now adjourned, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and its friends are for the time being free of the threat of legal repression. Illegal repression, however, continues unabated. On March 15, in an Arkansas town bearing the happy name of Birdsong, Norman Thomas was manhandled by a mob of planters, forcibly prevented from addressing a meeting of unhappy share-croppers, and with his party escorted out of the county. Since then, one of the union leaders has been warned to leave his home county within twenty-four hours and two others have been threatened with lynching, while a preacher who has dared to befriend the share-croppers has been arrested and his home fired upon by a gang of planter vigilantes. Meanwhile reports of the misery of the Southern tenant farmer come in from every side. The report of the Committee on Minority Groups in the Economic Recovery, financed by the Rosenwald Fund, after a year's study in the Southern states, is particularly striking. Against an average of 42 per cent for the entire country, runs the report, 58 per cent of the farms in the cotton states are worked by tenants; the committee finds that these tenants exist on a lower economic level than the European peasant; and it foresees as inevitable the complete reformation of the South's land-tenure system. In passing, the report has this to say of the government's present ironic contribution to the share-cropper's fate:

> The furnishing of tenants with seed and tools and food and clothing at the traditional margin of from 20 to 30 per cent above cash prices has taken on a new aspect since it has become possible for landowners to secure their needed funds from the Farm Credit Administration. . . . As a result the government finds itself an involuntary, if not unsuspecting, partner in usury.

ALTHOUGH THE NEW BELGIAN CABINET, headed by Paul van Zeeland, has made no definite statement regarding the belga, financial circles are predicting that the first defection from the gold bloc will occur within the next few months. Dependent on the export of manufactured products, Belgium has paid a heavier price for the maintenance of currency stability than any other country. Its index of business activity is among the lowest in Europe, and has shown no improvement in the past twelve months. In order to prevent speculation induced by the increasing sentiment for devaluation, the government has already technically abandoned the gold standard by imposing drastic restrictions on the purchase of gold and on foreign exchange. For the time being the belga is maintained at its former parity with the aid of French support, but it is not believed that either the French or the Belgians would make any real sacrifice to preserve this parity against a serious attack. If the belga is devaluated, the Swiss franc and the Netherlands florin will almost certainly follow, leaving only France with an undefiled monetary system. Whether the collapse of the gold bloc will have a beneficial or detrimental effect on world economic conditions depends entirely on the reaction of the United States and Great Britain. It will offer an exceptional opportunity for the international stabilization agreement which has so long been needed, but unless statesmanship revives in this country it is more likely merely to be the opening gun of a disastrous currency war.

THE NATION is glad to announce that Charles Angoff has joined the editorial board. Mr. Angoff's work as editor of the *American Mercury*—a position he resigned after the recent sale of the magazine—is known to many of *The Nation's* readers. His courage and liveliness and critical vigor have formed an exciting element in contemporary journalism and will be of continuing value in the editorial conduct of *The Nation*.

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Europe Must Choose

MORE than a week has passed since Hitler's unilateral action on German rearmament was first announced to a panicky world. Much has occurred during this period. England, France, Austria, and Czecho-Slovakia have taken steps to strengthen their defenses against the menace of a rearmed Germany. Mussolini has increased his standing army until it is almost as large as that proposed by Hitler. The Soviet Union has announced that if war must come, it is ready to meet the steel of the German invader. France and Italy have protested against the violation of the Versailles treaty, and have had their protests rejected with undiplomatic bluntness. An appeal has been made to the Council of the League under Article XI of the Covenant, which may yet cause Germany some embarrassment. Even Poland has evinced its displeasure at the Reich's move. But apart from an encouraging evidence of unity of action, the powers appear as uncertain how best to meet Hitler's bold challenge as they were on the day of its announcement. Final decision has definitely been put off until the coming conference at Stresa, which will not take place until after the exploratory visit of Simon to Berlin and Eden's visits to Moscow, Warsaw, and Prague.

Confronted by the fact of German rearmament, the powers have only three possible courses of action open to them. The first is a preventive war launched before the Reich has an opportunity to complete its military preparations. This, fortunately, appears to have been ruled out. The recent peace polls in France and Great Britain have revealed strong popular opposition to military measures of any kind. Nor is Germany in its present state of preparation likely to provoke hostilities if they can be avoided. War, if it is to come within the next year, will be the result of a series of diplomatic blunders rather than the outcome of the deliberate will of any nation.

The second alternative is to extend and develop the present system of alliances so as to encircle Germany with a *cordon sanitaire*. This involves bringing the Soviet Union into a close working understanding with France, Italy, and Great Britain, and strengthening the ties between these powers and the Little Entente, the other Balkan nations, and the Baltic states. While this course obviously carries with it certain risks, it offers a fair chance for security as long as the agreements remain binding. For the past two years French diplomacy has been heading in this direction. Italy and the Soviet Union have stood shoulder to shoulder with France in the present crisis. The Little Entente has apparently come into line, and it is unlikely that trouble will develop with the Baltic states. With regard to England, however, much anxiety exists. While Britain's policy has always been against allowing any one country military supremacy in Europe, particularly if it was a potential naval rival, the British are somewhat like the Americans in their distrust of "entangling alliances."

The uncertainty of Britain's position illustrates the fundamental weakness of the policy of encirclement. It can succeed only if there is continued unified action by the leading powers. The overwhelming strength of the anti-German forces threatens ultimately to defeat these tactics. Just as a small disciplined majority in Congress is likely to be more effective than a large unwieldy majority such as the Democrats now possess, so a bloc containing all but one of the great powers of Europe is constantly threatened with disintegration and decay. A further danger involved in the isolation of Germany is that it would strengthen Hitler in his contention that the Reich is menaced on every side by hostile states. Resentment against the injustice of the world's attitude toward Germany set the stage for Hitler; perpetuation of that attitude will merely assure to him the opportunity of playing the hero's role indefinitely.

A final possibility is that the powers may accept German rearmament as a *fait accompli* and seek to establish a system of European security based on full equality for the Reich. This was unquestionably the motive which inspired Simon's visit to Berlin in the face of disapproval on the part of France and Italy. Whether the British Foreign Minister's tactics are ultimately successful depends almost entirely on the true nature of Nazi policy. If rearmament is to be merely a prelude to the war of expansion outlined in "Mein Kampf," neither pacts of collective security nor other measures will avert war. On the other hand, if equality is the Reich's only aim, it is obvious that it has more to gain than any other country from the creation of effective machinery for the preservation of peace.

If Hitler had determined to stir up as many hornet's nests as possible, he could scarcely have done better in his first day's conversation with Sir John Simon. By virtually admitting that German rearmament is directed against the Soviet Union and refusing to sign a pact of mutual assistance to which the Soviets are a party, he has gone out of his way to intensify bitterness both in Moscow and Paris. His refusal to guarantee the independence of Austria is a direct slap at Italy, while his long discourse on the unjust treatment of Nazis in Memel can only serve to alienate the Baltic states and cause further apprehension in Russia. Of course much of this may be in the nature of bargaining, and we shall doubtless see Hitler taking some of the steps which he now opposes. But it at least suggests that he has not given up the idea of expansion toward the East. Meanwhile he is playing a dangerous game in the hope of widening the breach between Great Britain and the other powers. Should he succeed in wresting even a minor concession from Simon on any of the preceding points, he will not only have broken the iron ring with which France has encircled Germany, but will have simultaneously destroyed all hopes for collective security. Only a firm united front of all the powers can make Hitler see the precariousness of his position, and drive him, however unwillingly, to accept the principle of the proposed non-aggression pacts. The attempt to bring Germany back into the League and to establish an Eastern Locarno and a defensive air pact may fail, but if it does, the instruments of security may be readily transformed into weapons for defense. But from the path which leads to war there is no turning.

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Abolishing War Profits

WE unreservedly subscribe to the principles underlying the plan presented by John T. Flynn to the Senate Munitions Committee for taking the profits out of war. The merit of the plan is that it does what it sets out to do. It cannot equalize the payment of the soldier who falls or is wounded at the front with the sacrifices exacted of the nation he defends. But it makes certain that the sacrifices of life and health are equaled as far as possible by patriotism on the economic plane. The profits permitted to business would be 3 per cent. The highest personal income would be $10,000. The generation which waged the war would pay for it as it fought, by handing over all profits above 3 per cent to the government and by taxing all incomes from $1,000 up to the maximum income of $10,000. This means that the nation would take a vow of poverty for as long as its youth served on the battlefield. We can conceive of no more fitting code of conduct for a country to adopt in peace time as its guide in any future war. Half the money spent by us in the last war, we are told, went into inflated prices, and most of the gains went to those for whom war was a heyday of prosperity. It is to the credit of all who have served on the Hurley committee and with Bernard M. Baruch in studying this problem that they agree on the necessity of limitation of profits and measures to fix prices. The American Legion too has pressed for legislation which will enable the government to draft wealth as well as lives in time of war. But most of the measures proposed, in our opinion, do not go to the root of the question. The Hurley committee was content to limit the tax on profits to 95 per cent of the excess over a three-year peace-time average. The McSwain bill curiously omits any excess profits tax whatever on the plea that the Committee on Military Affairs has no jurisdiction to raise revenues. Instead, the committee piously recommends a 100 per cent tax on profits "shown to be due to war-time conditions." This bill, the Hurley recommendations, and the Baruch plan are more concerned with preventing price rocketing and inflation than with the explicit task of making the nation pay for a war as it goes and of equalizing as far as possible the sacrifices of those who fight with the cost to those who stay at home. As to the McSwain bill, we call attention to a faint odor of fascism in its language. Its provisions are not applicable (save in Section 1) to war or a war emergency only but, in Section 3, to "the event of war or a national emergency declared by Congress to exist." And in Sections 4, 5, and 6, to "the period of any war or emergency declared by Congress"—which would make it a useful law for an American Hitler to clap into service.

The Flynn plan goes farther than the other plans in giving the government control over industry. It provides for a draft of plant management in industry, so that a plant official becomes an officer in the army and is removable, the only guaranty the government can have of his full cooperation. The plan is no less effective than the others in preventing inflation, since it also would fix prices, and it would in addition close commodity exchanges and enable allocations to be made to essential processors. But its principal merit lies in its forthright assumption that the way to take profit out of war is not to tax excess profits but simply to take profits out of war. Any other arrangement is a compromise, an attempt to say how much profit can respectably and justifiably be earned during the supreme national act of self-defense.

That the Nye committee should sponsor such principles, that the President should indicate his general approval of them, that Congress should be in a mood to consider them seriously, perhaps even to place them on the statute book, is an indication of the revulsion this country feels for the philosophy of Eugene G. Grace and for its memory of the scramble for wealth during the World War. A law based on the Flynn plan would make certain that business men would become our leading pacifists in future international crises, since a war would eclipse their activities and turn them into economic soldiers at genuinely patriotic wages. A measure like this, coming at a time when the faith in world peace is running out, is a most presentable aspect of our otherwise confused national expression. As a country we may be building a navy far beyond our needs and establishing an army and air force that are extravagances, but we are sincere in the determination that no American shall ever grow rich again out of a war. We hope the President will throw his full weight behind the Munitions Committee bill when it is introduced. It might become the most notable achievement of the Roosevelt era.

Fascist Victory at Columbia

ON another page of this issue appear four letters which form a startling instalment of *The Nation's* serial story on Fascism at Columbia University. Our more faithful readers will recall that at the close of the last chapter the fascist control of the Casa Italiana was implicitly admitted by its director, Giuseppi Prezzolini, when he refused to join the Graduate Club of Italian Studies in its invitation to Professor Salvemini of Harvard to speak at the Casa. The club responded promptly and effectively by withdrawing from the Casa and renewing the invitation. The sequel, dramatically told in the letters printed this week, records a fascist victory, a sort of march on Rome by the fascist cohorts. The fascists have, in short, recaptured the Graduate Club, rescinded the invitation to Dr. Salvemini, and forced the resignation of the members and officers who stood for free speech at the Casa.

The facts are worth brief review. First we have the amazing letter from the Graduate Club informing Professor Salvemini that "the members of the Executive Council . . . by a majority vote, have decided to withdraw our invitation to speak to us," basing this decision on Professor Salvemini's action in permitting *The Nation* to publish his earlier correspondence with the club. This letter is explained by a second communication to Professor Salvemini signed by Messrs. Grilli, Luciani, and McAvoy of the Executive Council of the club, stating that Mrs. Maria Piccirilli, an instructor at Vassar College and a corresponding member of the Graduate Club, had called together the other members of the club for the twofold purpose of protesting the Execu-

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tive Council's decision to withdraw from the Casa and withdrawing the invitation to Professor Salvemini.

Who is Mrs. Piccirilli? Why should an instructor at Vassar have been interested in reversing decisions already made by the Italian Graduate Club at Columbia? A possible clue presents itself. In Dr. Butler's defense of the Casa and the Italian Department, published in *The Nation* for November 14, 1934, he asserted that the department had been instrumental in getting appointments in other institutions for "outstanding scholars" without regard to the fact "that they might have publicly made anti-fascist declarations. One scholar, in particular, who was appointed not long ago to a professorship elsewhere on the recommendation of our department was a signer of Senator Croce's well-known manifesto." Is Professor Ferrando, head of the Italian Department at Vassar, the scholar referred to? Professor Ferrando was a signer of Croce's manifesto and is said to be an anti-fascist. If Professor Ferrando received the recommendation of the Columbia department, may he not have felt impelled to come to the aid of the Casa in its hour of need and send his subordinate, Mrs. Piccirilli, to New York to act as agent for the Casa authorities? It is worthy of note that three members of the Executive Council of the club resigned after having voted the action to withdraw the invitation to Professor Salvemini. These men apparently lacked the courage to affix their signatures to their discourteous letter, which, indeed, carries no signature.

The Nation's original article on Fascism at Columbia University brought definite charges of repression against the Casa Italiana and the Italian Department. We repeat those charges now. They were denied by President Butler, but we have been able to puncture holes in his defense from every quarter. He asserted, for example, that Professor Arthur Livingston was transferred from the Italian to the French Department "for budgetary reasons only." We brought out the fact that he had been transferred after Count Facchetti-Guiglia had denounced him publicly as an anti-fascist and asserted that no money for the Casa would be donated by Italian Americans sympathetic to fascism until Professor Livingston's connection with the Casa and the Italian Department should be severed. Professor Livingston is the leading American scholar, translator, and critic in the field of Italian culture. Signor Guglielmo Ferrero, according to Dr. Butler, "was invited by the director of the Casa Italiana in person to speak at the Casa, but was compelled to decline to do so." Signor Ferrero in a letter to *The Nation* stated that he had "never been asked to give a lecture at the Casa Italiana." Here we have not only discrimination but deliberate falsehood on the part of Dr. Butler's informants, Professors Prezzolini and Bigongiari. Finally we have the case of Professor Salvemini to refute Dr. Butler's assertion that no "teacher, student, or visitor is discriminated against because of his political opinions."

We reiterate that there is systematic discrimination at the Casa Italiana against teachers, students, and visitors who are known to have anti-fascist sympathies. *The Nation* does not ask that there be no expression of fascist views at the Casa. We do demand that in accord with time-honored American principles completely free discussion of all aspects of fascism be permitted at the Casa. Such discussion is obviously impossible so long as agents of the Fascist government remain in control of the Casa.

Goodby Leviathan

SO the old Leviathan, originally the Vaterland of the Hamburg-American Line, which made her debut just before the war, is finally to be abandoned. Her end will awaken many memories in the minds of the thousands still alive who voyaged on her to and from the battlefields of France. But it was the fate of this superb vessel to spend relatively little time on the ocean. She had made only three Atlantic crossings when in 1914 she received the code message ordering her to tie up at a Hoboken pier. Ever since the war, despite the fact that the government spent $8,000,000 to recondition her and refit her as a passenger ship in addition to the huge sums spent to make a transport out of her and repair the damage done to her engines by her German crew, her voyages have been few, fitful, and unprofitable. Last summer she made five transatlantic trips and lost more than $500,000 in doing so. Her successor will not be another gigantic liner but a third cabin ship to alternate with the Manhattan and the Washington of the United States Lines.

For the day of the immense ship is done. That may seem a rash statement in view of the fact that in May the new and gigantic Normandie of the French Line will arrive in New York in faster time than the ocean has ever before been crossed from France to the United States, and that the Cunard-White Star liner Queen Mary is soon to be put into operation. Yet we have a strong feeling that the day of these giant liners is done, that they will never be able to pay for themselves. They may do so in the summer months if and when prosperity is restored. But the long winter months mean huge losses—the larger the ship the larger the losses. In the case of the Normandie and the Queen Mary one of the compelling motives of their construction has been national pride and the desire to win for their owners the blue ribbon of the seas—obviously not a motive based on economic needs. Again, there are many ship captains who believe it will be unsafe to build longer ships, and unwise to ask one man to assume a greater responsibility for a ship than he now has to carry.

But, after all, it is the financial side which is compelling, and there is little hope that many people will be found ready to pay the large sums asked for the luxurious suites of the largest liners. It is an open secret that the Bremen and Europa are no longer doing well. They are probably carrying relatively more passengers than other ships, with the exception of the most popular English vessels, but their third-class cabins are empty, and the few in the first cabin do not suffice for the ship's expenses. These great liners are not built to carry freight; indeed, they seek only gold shipments or other merchandise which calls for prompt delivery and pays high rates. They are in harbor usually for so short a time that they could not possibly load and discharge much cargo. The result is that they are more dependent upon passenger traffic than liners have been heretofore, and naturally they suffer more immediately when, because of bad times, the number of voyagers decreases and passenger rates have to be lowered. This bears the more severely upon fast ships than upon slow ones since high speed is purchased at a disproportionate cost.

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Issues and Men

Propaganda and the President

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S outburst in behalf of the Utility Holding Companies bill rang with indignation at the propaganda methods used by the executives of the companies to bring pressure to bear on Congress. He used these words:

> I have watched the use of investors' money to make the investor believe that the efforts of the government to protect him are designed to defraud him. I have seen much of the propaganda prepared against such legislation —even down to mimeographed sheets of instructions for propaganda to exploit the most far-fetched and fallacious fears. I have seen enough to be as unimpressed by it as I was by the similar effort to stir up the country against the Securities Exchange bill last spring.

He then properly set forth what he feels is the truth about the bill and why he believes that it will surround "the necessary reorganization" with safeguards which will in fact protect the investor. But I am not concerned today with the right and wrong of the utility-bill controversy. What interests me is this old question of propaganda, the question of when it is legitimate and when it is not.

It is true that a great many of the letters which are pouring in on the President and Congress have been stimulated. That is always the case when the interests of a great many people are affected by legislation. One of the oldest, most conservative banks in New York, and about the cleanest, broke its long record of never dipping into public matters by appealing to its depositors to write to Washington in protest against this bill, sending to each a one-sided and partisan, if not misleading, article by David Lawrence, the Washington correspondent. The new American Federation of Utility Investors has naturally bombarded every Senator and Congressman and the White House, for that is what it was created for. I have before me "A Plea for Justice," signed by its president, Hugh S. Magill, who declared that the federation speaks "on behalf of ten million American citizens and American institutions that have invested their savings in public-utility securities." I have gone through this plea, and, while I should challenge some of the statements in it, it does not seem to me that there is anything in it that is improper, or beyond the rights of stockholders. It winds up with an appeal to secure four signatures to the petition on the inclosed postcard. The petition is a very weak one, urging the Congress to "stop government competition with the utility industry," and it will have no effect, but this, too, is quite within the rights of the stockholders. Nor does the fact that Mr. Magill has stimulated the stockholders to sign seem to me to vitiate the value of the protest. Every petition which goes to Congress has been engineered by some enthusiast who has the time or the means to write to others asking them to sign. I cannot see that the President has a just cause for criticism of this method unless the propaganda is based on false statements or misconceptions.

If there are misconceptions, then they ought to be cleared up, as the President has sought to do as stated above. If the propaganda is based upon deliberate falsehoods, the thing to do is to bring that out as quickly as possible; certainly falsehoods in the propaganda will be detected by the Congressmen and Senators in charge of this legislation. Again, the fact that stockholders are petitioning should not weigh with the legislators. The former obviously have a financial interest and can sign as stockholders if they wish. An independent and free Congressman or Senator will know how to act toward interested parties. It is when propaganda becomes underhand, is lacking in frankness or deliberately resorts to deceit, that it becomes a menace and entirely censurable. One of the best examples of this was the action of public-utility corporations in hiring college professors to attack the drift toward municipal ownership and operation of public utilities without letting it be known that these professors were in their pay.

One of the difficulties of the situation is that the public has so few ways of making its opinions felt in Washington. In lecturing around the country I am constantly asked at the conclusion of an address: "What can we as individuals do to remedy the conditions you have described?" I can only answer that they must utilize the few means the public has of publishing its wishes—such as the historic use of mass-meetings, letters to the newspapers, letters to Congressmen and Senators, and protest parades. Obviously we need a method of obtaining clear-cut information concerning the will of the country. That is why Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson both advocated the referendum. I have before me the results of an extraordinarily interesting volunteer referendum which has just been taken in England by the League of Nations' Union. At the beginning of March there were returns of more than two million votes cast in 314 towns and villages. Everyone over eighteen was asked to vote, and the average in the country was 49.4 per cent of the inhabitants, some constituencies polling more than 70 per cent. This ballot, which showed that 97 per cent of the voters were in favor of the League of Nations, 93 per cent in favor of applying economic sanctions to recalcitrant nations, and 72 per cent for military sanctions, is certainly a cross-section large enough to enable the British government to estimate public opinion on this issue.

Failing volunteer efforts like this, or official referendum machinery, we shall continue to have propaganda of the present kind. The President surely does not desire to deprive the people of the right to protest against his legislation. He is concerned, we believe, only that the source and motives of the protest shall be known and the motives themselves be honorable and just, even if the petitioners are biased by a financial stake in the issue.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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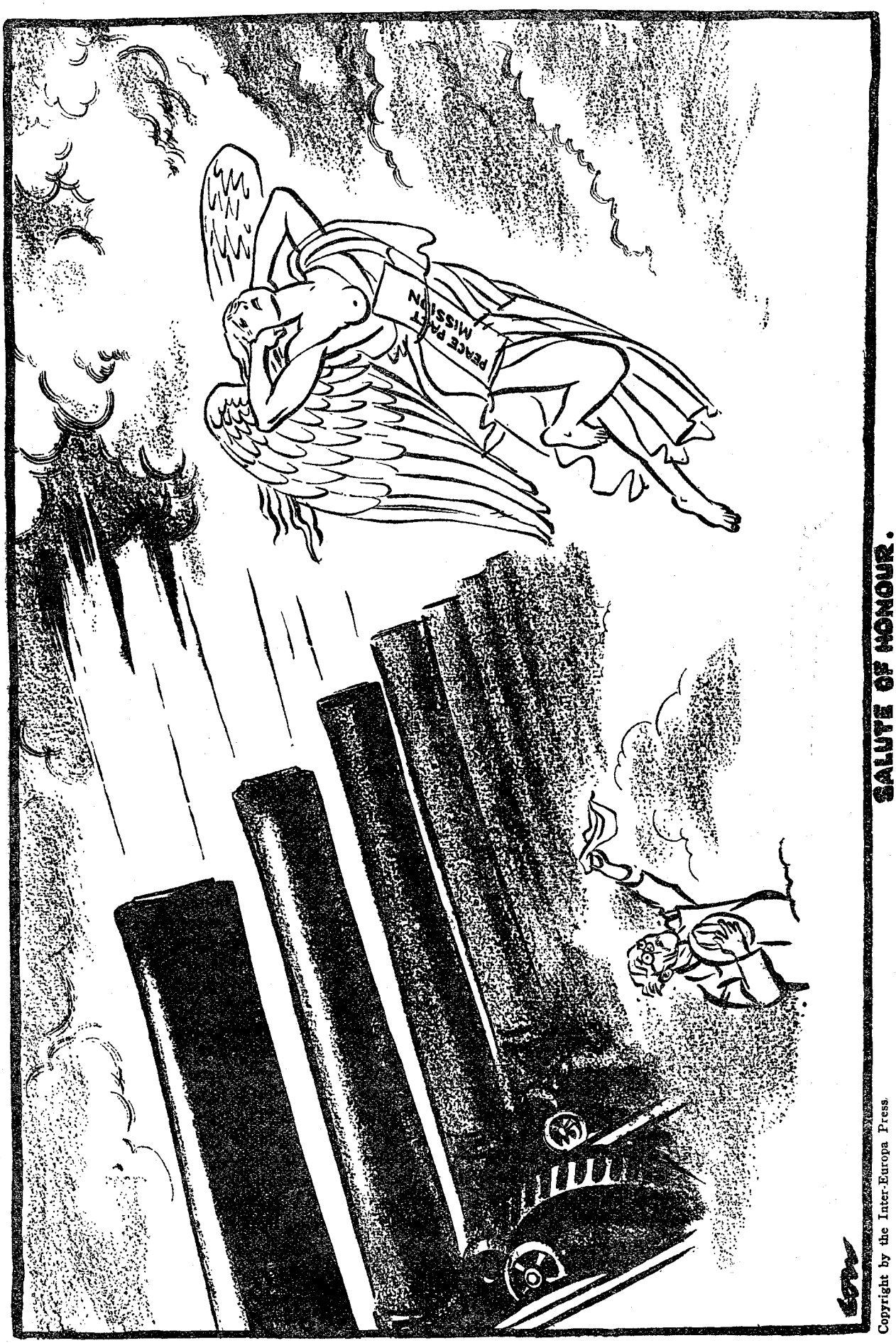
A Cartoon by LOW



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The Cuban Terror

By RAMON GRAU SAN MARTIN

Miami, March 21

CUBA is at this moment in a state of veritable chaos, maintained and intensified by a regime of terror. All the noble aspirations and longings for progress of the Cuban people are being checkmated by the violent imposition of a usurping government, treacherous to national sovereignty, sold out to private interest, whose disorderly administration has renewed the old practices of graft and fraud which were fought and stamped out by the revolution directing Cuba's destinies from September 10, 1933, to January 15, 1934.

The sequence of scandals bursting into bloom during the present government's term of office has provoked the most vigorous protest and repudiation from the people. Instead of lending an ear and looking into the causes of this dissent, the government is trying to silence it by violence. It meets the reasoned and legitimate demands of public opinion with rifle and machine-gun fire, misusing the weapons of war, which should be in the hands of government agents to protect national principles and interest, never to assassinate with impunity citizens who claim their rights, reveal their opinions, or endeavor to act for the common benefit.

Military jurisdiction out of all bounds is the supreme law which has ruled since the present government assumed power. We must recall that the deciding factor which led to my final resignation from the office of President of the Republic in January, 1934—aside from the perturbing influence of illegitimate interests and the handiwork of Mr. Caffery—was my refusal to grant an extension of military jurisdiction, repeatedly requested by the head of the army, which would have prevented the ordinary courts of justice from judging common crimes committed by the military. One of the first laws enacted by the present government extended military jurisdiction to cover all sorts of misdeeds committed by members of the armed forces. This has resulted in an interminable series of unpunished crimes and assassinations. Its culminating point has now been reached in the bloody tyranny which today rides roughshod over all rights.

Under these conditions and subject to a military dictatorship which has taken over all the attributes of civil power, the government desires to hold elections. It would be impossible for any citizen not in accord with the ideas of the ruling power to go to the polls, since he would have no material guaranties whatsoever. The declaration of various civic and political organizations that they refused to partake in elections under such auspices has aroused the government's ire, and it is carrying on a virulent persecution of the directing elements of these organizations—professional associations, labor syndicates, and independent associations.

The general strike movement which is now being throttled by force had its inception in the protest of elementary school teachers against governmental neglect of education, which was so flagrant that pupils had no benches to sit on and lacked the supplies indispensable for the most elementary school activities. This strike was backed by normal schools, institutes, industrial technical schools, private colleges, and, finally, by the university, which endeavored to mediate between the administration and the salient groups of civic organizations in an effort to solve the most urgent national problems. As the government's response to this disinterested and patriotic gesture, the army raided the university and occupied it, forcing the dean and professors as well as the students to abandon the university grounds and all the university's dependencies, including the hospital annex, which is the largest in the republic.

This onslaught on law and culture provoked various organizations and responsible groups among the people to express their protest in a peaceful strike, which gradually extended to all representative labor unions and even to the various departments of government, where the employees refused, with unprecedented unanimity, to continue working for such a government. It is well to observe that this strike never had an extremist social character. Its sole purpose was to manifest the popular repudiation of the violent acts of the government, which boastingly proclaimed its determination to repress by force any expression of resistance.

In conformity with this program the government has repealed the constitutional precepts of its rule, adopted under oath by all officials, including the armed forces, which had assumed the title of "constitutional army and navy." The only basic law which remains in force is a decree sentencing to either prison or death, with no opportunity for appeal, all citizens suspected of action or opinion in opposition to the ruling power. All those who wish to occupy the vacant offices in the government are supplied with firearms, and they are further authorized to use them indiscriminately and without responsibility. The army, navy, and police persecute and hunt unarmed citizens in the streets; irregular forces of miscreants also employed by the government join them in the hunt. These groups of rapscallions, armed with rifles and machine-guns, break into homes and drag out unarmed citizens to assassinate them in the streets. At times such raids are directed against several members of the same family, as in the case of the youth Armando Feito, who was taken from his residence on the Malecon together with his father-in-law; the bodies of both were found the next morning, riddled with bullets, in one of the avenues of suburban Miramar.

Enrique Fernandez, formerly Subsecretary of the Interior, a prominent member of the Autentico Party, a man of great culture and socially prominent, was arrested while driving to the home of a well-known public official. Mr. Fernandez was a whole-hearted devotee of peace and harmony among the components of Cuban society and was seeking a truce between the government and the opposition; he was actually on his way to see the official in question to discuss the possibility of reaching an agreement which would prevent further bloodshed. His family and friends, learning of his arrest, were reassured by the highest authorities, who told them that although arrested he would be set free at an early date. A few hours later his bullet-ridden

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body was identified in the Marianao morgue, in a pile of other bodies. His identity was casually established by a newspaper reporter. The automobile which he had used was found the next day close to the Country Club lake; in it was the dead body of the chauffeur who had driven him. Every daybreak discloses other bodies strewn through different parts of the city and suburbs.

In all this bloody conflict, notwithstanding the large number of victims, there has not been a single fight. The onslaught of the armed forces, equipped with modern weapons, has been directed against a people disarmed and unable to resist the terror to which it has been subjected.

The full significance of these facts, the flagrant injustice which they represent, and the great responsibility which devolves upon the government are clearly established when it is realized that the popular protest against which the terror is directed has been essentially civic and peaceful, originating in a complaint against the neglect of public schools. With equal justification it might have arisen from the flagrant neglect of sanitation and indeed of all other essential public services. Only the War Department is generously pampered by the present government.

Harlem Runs Wild

BY CLAUDE McKAY

New York, March 25

DOCILE Harlem went on a rampage last week, smashing stores and looting them and piling up destruction of thousands of dollars worth of goods. But the mass riot in Harlem was not a race riot. A few whites were jostled by colored people in the melee, but there was no manifest hostility between colored and white as such. All night until dawn on the Tuesday of the outbreak white persons, singly and in groups, walked the streets of Harlem without being molested. The action of the police was commendable in the highest degree. The looting was brazen and daring, but the police were restrained. In extreme cases, when they fired, it was into the air. Their restraint saved Harlem from becoming a shambles.

The outbreak was spontaneous. It was directed against the stores exclusively. One-Hundred-and-Twenty-fifth Street is Harlem's main street and the theatrical and shopping center of the colored thousands. Anything that starts there will flash through Harlem as quick as lightning. The alleged beating of a kid caught stealing a trifle in one of the stores merely served to explode the smoldering discontent of the colored people against the Harlem merchants.

It would be too sweeping to assert that radicals incited the Harlem mass to riot and pillage. The Young Liberators seized an opportune moment, but the explosion on Tuesday was not the result of Communist propaganda. There were, indeed, months of propaganda in it. But the propagandists are eager to dissociate themselves from Communists. Proudly they declare that they have agitated only in the American constitutional way for fair play for colored Harlem.

Colored people all over the world are notoriously the most exploitable material, and colored Harlem is no exception. The population is gullible to an extreme. And apparently the people are exploited so flagrantly because they invite and take it. It is their gullibility that gives to Harlem so much of its charm, its air of insouciance and gaiety. But the façade of the Harlem masses' happy-go-lucky and hand-to-mouth existence has been badly broken by the depression. A considerable part of the population can no longer cling even to the hand-to-mouth margin.

Wherever an ethnologically related group of people is exploited by others, the exploiters often operate on the principle of granting certain concessions as sops. In Harlem the exploiting group is overwhelmingly white. And it gives no sops. And so for the past two years colored agitators have exhorted the colored consumers to organize and demand of the white merchants a new deal: that they should employ Negroes as clerks in the colored community. These agitators are crude men, theoretically. They have little understanding of and little interest in the American labor movement, even from the most conservative trade-union angle. They address their audience mainly on the streets. Their following is not so big as that of the cultists and occultists. But it is far larger than that of the Communists.

One of the agitators is outstanding and picturesque. He dresses in turban and gorgeous robe. He has a bigger following than his rivals. He calls himself Sufi Abdul Hamid. His organization is the Negro Industrial and Clerical Alliance. It was the first to start picketing the stores of Harlem demanding clerical employment for colored persons. Sufi Hamid achieved a little success. A few of the smaller Harlem stores engaged colored clerks. But on 125th Street the merchants steadfastly refused to employ colored clerical help. The time came when the Negro Industrial and Clerical Alliance felt strong enough to picket the big stores on 125th Street. At first the movement got scant sympathy from influential Negroes and the Harlem intelligentsia as a whole. Physically and mentally, Sufi Hamid is a different type. He does not belong. And moreover he used to excoriate the colored newspapers, pointing out that they would not support his demands on the bigger Harlem stores because they were carrying the stores' little ads.

Harlem was excited by the continued picketing and the resultant "incidents." Sufi Hamid won his first big support last spring when one of the most popular young men in Harlem, the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., assistant pastor of the Abyssinian Church—the largest in Harlem—went on the picket line on 125th Street. This gesture set all Harlem talking and thinking and made the headlines of the local newspapers. It prompted the formation of a Citizens' League for Fair Play. The league was indorsed and supported by sixty-two organizations, among which were eighteen of the leading churches of Harlem. And at last the local press conceded some support.

One of the big stores capitulated and took on a number of colored clerks. The picketing of other stores was continued. And soon business was not so good as it used to be on 125th Street.

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In the midst of the campaign Sufi Hamid was arrested. Some time before his arrest a committee of Jewish Minute Men had visited the Mayor and complained about an anti-Semitic movement among the colored people and the activities of a black Hitler in Harlem. The *Day* and the *Bulletin,* Jewish newspapers, devoted columns to the Harlem Hitler and anti-Semitism among Negroes. The articles were translated and printed in the Harlem newspapers under big headlines denouncing the black Hitler and his work.

On October 13 of last year Sufi Hamid was brought before the courts charged with disorderly conduct and using invective against the Jews. The witnesses against him were the chairman of the Minute Men and other persons more or less connected with the merchants. After hearing the evidence and the defense, the judge decided that the evidence was biased and discharged Sufi Hamid. Meanwhile Sufi Hamid had withdrawn from the Citizens' League for Fair Play. He had to move from his headquarters and his immediate following was greatly diminished. An all-white Harlem Merchants' Association came into existence. Dissension divided the Citizens' League; the prominent members denounced Sufi Hamid and his organization.

In an interview last October Sufi Hamid told me that he had never styled himself the black Hitler. He said that once when he visited a store to ask for the employment of colored clerks, the proprietor remarked, "We are fighting Hitler in Germany." Sufi said that he replied, "There is no Hitler in Harlem." He went on to say that although he was a Moslem he had never entertained any prejudices against Jews as Jews. He was an Egyptian and in Egypt the relations between Moslem and Jew were happier than in any other country. He was opposed to Hitlerism, for he had read Hitler's book, "Mein Kampf," and knew Hitler's attitude and ideas about all colored peoples. Sufi Hamid said that the merchants of Harlem spread the rumor of anti-Semitism among the colored people because they did not want to face the issue of giving them a square deal.

The Citizens' League continued picketing, and some stores capitulated. But the Leaguers began quarreling among themselves as to whether the clerks employed should be light-skinned or dark-skinned. Meanwhile the united white Harlem Merchants' Association was fighting back. In November the picketing committee was enjoined from picketing by Supreme Court Justice Samuel Rosenman. The court ruled that the Citizens' League was not a labor organization. It was the first time that such a case had come before the courts of New York. The chairman of the picketing committee remarked that "the decision would make trouble in Harlem."

One by one the colored clerks who had been employed in 125th Street stores lost their places. When inquiries were made as to the cause, the managements gave the excuse of slack business. The clerks had no organization behind them. Of the grapevine intrigue and treachery that contributed to the débâcle of the movement, who can give the facts? They are as obscure and inscrutable as the composite mind of the Negro race itself. So the masses of Harlem remain disunited and helpless, while their would-be leaders wrangle and scheme and denounce one another to the whites. Each one is ambitious to wear the piebald mantle of Marcus Garvey.

On Tuesday the crowds went crazy like the remnants of a defeated, abandoned, and hungry army. Their rioting was the gesture of despair of a bewildered, baffled, and disillusioned people.

Sidney Hillman Turns Architect

Washington, March 25

SIDNEY HILLMAN is an arch-realist, and probably would rather be so described than by any other term of praise. He is one of the few labor leaders who accepted without grumbling what help the Administration could render unions which, like his garment workers, were strong enough to help themselves. He has been realistic in seeing that the President could not give more to labor as a whole than labor was mature enough to receive. The garment workers were strong and intrenched. They could seize the opportunity opened by the NRA. And they have prospered, improved their hours and pay, and greatly extended their membership, gains which could not have been won otherwise. So when other labor leaders have been angry with the White House over the "betrayal" of labor principles, Hillman has never been as wroth as they. Labor, he knows, cannot expect the President to win its battles. If it is not strong enough, not coherent enough, not modern enough, to walk through the doors the President is opening, that is its fault, says Hillman quietly, not the President's.

Hillman, on the board of the NRA, with this arch-realistic outlook, was ideally situated to be the architect of a new labor situation, one in which labor expects less than it did from the White House but obtains more than it has been receiving, and one in which labor undertakes to transform its organization to fit the needs of the present day. Architect Hillman drew his blueprints, and last week he saw ground broken for his undertaking. It was Hillman who won for the Wagner labor-disputes bill the support of the Administration; who established diplomatic relations between John L. Lewis and Donald Richberg, so that labor received the President's viceroy as the new chairman of the NIRB almost as though he were its own nominee; who began the discussions which may lead to the evolution of a labor organization which can cooperate with the government in place of the American Federation of Labor. This is the background of the appointment of Richberg, of the reception of Green and Lewis at the White House, of the President's sudden though still unofficial sponsorship of the Wagner bill, of the scene in which Lewis consented to be photographed with Richberg (whom he has been all but blaspheming in word and speech for weeks), though he declined to shake hands with him, saying: "Let's not carry things too far."

These are, or at least ought to be, momentous events. Peace between labor and the White House, if made on the minimum terms like these, would have an enormous influence on the immediate future. The effective working of the Wagner bill would at once change the character of the NRA

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from an instrument to legalize business domination to something at least partially balanced by economic power for workers. It would wipe out of existence the Automobile Labor Board, and bring the automobile industry into line with other industries in having to establish fair labor practice. If passed as written it would put an end to company unionism, and sweep away this future foothold for fascism. It would give labor the opportunity to battle for a fairer share of industrial income.

These admittedly are vistas, architectural vistas, like the trees and boulevards on architects' drawings. They are not presented here as accomplished facts. But the facts, though few, are important. The Administration is sponsoring a bill which will contain at least some of the main provisions of the Wagner bill. Labor has buried the hatchet with Richberg and has an additional member on the NIRB. This member, Philip Murray of the United Mine Workers, is from an industrial, not a craft, union. Informal discussions are under way about the advisability of forming some organization of industrial unions, or one led by industrial unionists or by men with the outlook of industrial unionism, to cooperate with the government. Further facts are that labor, through the NIRB, is to have ready access to the White House, and that Miss Perkins will for the time being cease to be the channel of communication. It is a queer situation, no doubt, which sidetracks Miss Perkins and restores Richberg to the tolerance of labor. But there it is. Things had gone so far in Washington that peace of any sort between the President and organized labor is queer.

A fact not known is how much the President feels committed to the Wagner bill, or how much of it he will consent to sponsor. Will he subscribe to the outlawing of company unions? It is hard to believe. One such element of doubt suffices to cast a haze over the whole development. It is logical, to be sure, to expect at this time a move by the President to conciliate labor and so to extricate himself from the almost reactionary position which he has come to occupy. But this is not written as a prediction that the victory of labor is won or even that it will be substantial. It simply records that something has begun which can turn into victory. It depends on Sidney Hillman being as good a builder as he is an architect. Vistas as depicted on architectural drawings never look like the ultimate realities. The trees never are so neat, the streets so wide. Hillman would be the last to pretend that they are. But he would rather build just as long as there is to be some vista, than to stand about doing nothing but whine. He can argue tellingly that without cooperation with the White House labor has no outlook whatever. And nobody has been able to meet that argument.

It is a measure of the intelligence of Senator King from Utah that he should have baited Sidney Hillman for his Russian origin and tried to brand him as a radical in the very days when he was proving himself the soberest realist in the labor movement. Hillman was before the Senate committee which is to draft the bill extending the NRA. Senator King, apparently primed by the representative of clothing manufacturers who had sweated their labor before the NRA was launched, took Hillman for a ride. If King had known as much about the labor movement as he knows, let us say, about the dialects of India, he would not have made an exhibition of his unfitness to legislate on such matters.

With the active support of labor the NRA can presumably be saved, and the President will have made a beginning on the salvage of his legislative program. He is sure to rescue old-age pensions if not the full security program, which is producing headaches on the Hill because of its complexities. Congress will get around to other key measures one at a time—holding companies, railroad organizations, reform of the Federal Reserve system, the food and drug act—but it will not be driven to anything by the White House. Congress is now like a school with the teachers gone, left in charge of senior scholars. The work-relief bill could only pass by attaching the Thomas silver amendment to it, a devastating compromise accepted by Administration leaders in the hope that it could be defeated in conference. The choice was between accepting inflationist support and facing the opposition of Huey Long, due to return to Washington today. The ruse reveals the complete disorganization on the Hill, where the power to give and take is vested in the inflationists and the one man, Huey Long.

The inflationists won a sensational victory in the House on the bonus, an even more sweeping victory than had been predicted. Without going here into the old issue of whether the bonus should be paid, the passage of the Patman bill, and indeed of most of the bonus legislation, reveals a queer blind spot in American politicians and all legionaries to a simple economic fact. This is that time changes money value. A sum collectable in ten years is worth more in ten years than it is today. To pay a debt today at its face value in ten years is to pay more than is owed. The bonus advocate sees the face value of his certificate and cannot understand that the due date in any way is a dimension of the face value. The same kind of ignorance was always complicating the discussion of war debts and reparations, different sums being really identical in value if the time factor was considered. The Patman bill will pay the ultimate value of the certificates now. The Tydings-Andrews bill would have exchanged certificates for negotiable bonds which could be sold whenever the owners chose, at their real value at the time. There would have been no increase in debt since only the debt would ultimately be paid, and the veteran, if cash in hand was worth more to him than accrued value, could have his cash. This is such a simple, accurate, and fair solution of the bonus problem that one wonders why earlier Presidents did not hit upon it. President Roosevelt approved of it, but he did not, as he might have done, expound it to the public. Fifteen minutes from him on the radio, and the bonus issue might have been cleared away to nearly everyone's satisfaction. Now the House votes to pay the future value of certificates today, in other words, to pay more than the government ever contracted to pay. Never was ignorance of a simple economic truth more munificently rewarded.

The real reason that the Patman bill was preferred to the Tydings-Andrews and Vinton bills was its inflationary feature, in that it pays the two billions in greenbacks. It thus also avoids increasing the public debt, and the value will be taken instead from the whole economy of the country—an invisible tax on the community which will hurt but not anger the payers. If the inflationists are correct in believing we have too little currency in circulation, the tax would not even hurt. Two billions is not a big inflation, and in itself would not be ruinous. But few measures ever have combined false principles with bad economics more neatly than the Patman bill.

R. G. S.

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The Soviet-American Break

By LOUIS FISCHER

Washington

THE recent rupture of Soviet-American debt negotiations was caused by a disagreement on one point—the length of the term for which United States credits would be granted to the Soviet Union. The total amount of money that Moscow was to pay America had been established. Soviet counter-claims for damage done by American military invaders of Russian soil in 1918-19 were subtracted from American private and public claims for pre-revolutionary loans and the like, and the result, roughly $100,000,000, the Kremlin agreed to pay. Washington approved the Soviet principle whereby this debt settlement would be effected as follows: A certain sum of American money would be made available to the Russians. The Russians would pay not the normal rate of interest, say 5 per cent, but 8 per cent, and the 3 per cent difference, which would amount to several million dollars a year, would be used to retire the old debt. The Soviets did not care how this retirement took place. It was understood that the United States Treasury would use almost all the money accruing from the extra interest to satisfy, not itself—it is not interested in small sums nowadays—but the claims of private creditors, like the National City Bank, the International Harvester Company, and others.

The size of the sum to be offered the Soviet government had not been definitely determined. It was somewhere between $100,000,000 and $200,000,000, and a compromise was considered an easy matter. But for how many years? This was the rock on which the debt conference broke. When President Roosevelt talked with Litvinov in the White House in November, 1933, he promised the commissar a loan. The word "loan" was actually written into a document which Maxim Litvinov has in Moscow. Mr. Roosevelt, it is reported, feels piqued and bitter because he was misunderstood. He did not mean a loan, it is declared; he meant credits. A loan is a long-term affair; a credit is opened for a lesser number of years. But he said "loan," and the fault therefore is his, not Litvinov's. To a Russian "loan" signifies a large sum of money granted for thirty or forty years which you can spend how and where you please. Having given the Soviet Foreign Minister this impression, the President rushed away to Warm Springs. Mr. Morgenthau was too preoccupied to pay much attention to the affair, and when Ambassador Troyanovsky arrived, the White House and the State Department were "sore" because Moscow wanted to take them at their word.

Now the business of diplomacy is to bridge seemingly unbridgeable gaps. I am convinced that the Soviet government is prepared to spend in the United States all the money it borrows here. That makes the distinction between a loan and a credit much smaller. Washington is prepared to give a credit for no less than five years and probably more. The Russians demand at least fifteen years. They maintain that they will buy railroad locomotives, railroad signaling apparatus, and oil-boring machinery with the funds they borrow in this country, and they submit that even when big American railroads buy locomotives and the like, the banks often give them fifteen-year credits. The Soviet government has an even more cogent reason for asking long-term credits. France, England, Germany, and other countries also have claims on Russia for pre-revolutionary indebtedness. If the Soviets pay us, these nations will insist on equally favored treatment. The Bolsheviks will reply: "But America is giving us credits." Thereupon Paris and London and Berlin might offer Moscow credits, too, and the Kremlin would have more credits than it needs or can repay. The Soviet government, consequently, seeks credits in America so large, at such low rates of interest, and for such long terms that they cannot be duplicated in Europe. If it obtains them, Moscow can resist other demands for debt settlements.

The gulf between the Kremlin and the State Department, then, is the difference between five, six, or seven and fifteen years. One asks, therefore, whether this difference, which involves no deep principle and which does not defy solution, warranted Secretary Hull in dismissing Troyanovsky after four and a half minutes on January 31 and thus disrupting the negotiations. One asks who was the great statesman who withdrew our consul general, naval attaché, and aviation attaché from Moscow as reprisals for the Bolsheviks' refusal to accept terms which they felt were to their economic disadvantage. The State Department, of course, insists that these acts were not reprisals. They were that and worse. They reflect the ill-humor, pettiness, and pique of our diplomacy. The Russians had not refused to pay; we were in the midst of negotiations with them and considerable progress had been registered. Do we think that the Soviet Union is a puny little boy whom rich Uncle Sam can rap on the knuckles for misbehaving in class? How different is the attitude of England and France to Moscow these days! Moscow is consulted, and a note from Moscow molds the talks with Hitler. Moscow is visited, and Moscow's attitude on the Eastern pact is a paramount issue in a European settlement. The provincial United States State Department, however, treats the Soviet Union as though it were Panama or Albania.

Here is the clue to the barrenness of Soviet-American relations since recognition. In America, and in the U. S. S. R., recognition gave rise to a number of misleading conceptions. Americans believed that the Soviet economic situation would force the Russians to buy from us and accept credits on our terms. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, believed that the economic depression in the United States would make our government anxious to foster foreign trade; credits and loans, they expected, would accordingly flow free and fast. Both the Americans and the Russians were wrong. The Bolsheviks are cutting their imports and exports; they are becoming industrially more self-sufficient. They have an active foreign trade balance, they have large quantities of freshly mined gold, their current business debts abroad are almost entirely paid up, and they can settle in cash and immediately for a considerable number of large purchases. They are in an independent mood.

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But the Roosevelt Administration is dealing in billions. Domestic expenditure is heavy, and the country is in the mood of "To hell with Europe." Economic nationalism is having its sad and expensive day. While it lasts, trade with Russia looks less attractive than the Bolshevik representatives had mistakenly imagined it would. Strange that Cordell Hull, who, I imagine, is an opponent of economic nationalism, should serve as its clearest expression vis-a-vis Soviet Russia.

With regard to the Far Eastern situation similar misunderstandings have intervened. At the time negotiations began, Americans believed that Japan was pressing Russia hard, that the Russians would be so grateful for the benefits which recognition gave them in the Far East that they would eat out of their hand, and that in the event of a Soviet-Japanese War the United States, having diplomatic relations with both belligerents, could ultimately assume the role of peacemaker and arbiter in the Pacific just as it did in 1904; Franklin Roosevelt would follow Theodore Roosevelt and bring Moscow and Tokyo to a second Portsmouth with similar benefits to our Far Eastern interests.

Here, too, however, the situation has changed radically. Russo-Japanese conditions have taken a striking turn for the better since November, 1933, when the White House recognized the Kremlin. The Chinese Eastern Railway has been eliminated as a source of irritation. The Bolsheviks have concentrated a mighty and well-equipped army on their Siberian frontier. The Russian air force has been described as the best in the world. Certainly the huge bombers in and near Vladivostok deter the Japanese from inviting Soviet counter-attacks on their dense, paper-house cities. The line of Japanese expansion seems to be down into China, where there is little resistance, and not into Siberia, where they would be involved in a lengthy and costly war in which they might be defeated. It seems that Moscow and Tokyo are making peace with each other. For these reasons Moscow is not now so willing to pay a high price for American diplomatic collaboration as it was in 1933 or the years just preceding.

I think that this mutual enhanced indifference explains how a small divergence of views on credits disrupted debt negotiations which could soon have been brought to a successful conclusion. But the negotiations can easily be resumed when Ambassador Bullitt returns to Moscow. Big issues apart, business remains business, and Moscow can place large orders with American heavy industries which have hitherto shown least sign of improvement. The manufacturers of complicated machinery, automatic lathes, and locomotives could give employment to some of their unemployed capital and men if the Soviet-American diplomatic impasse were opened.

There is one other possibility. James L. Garvin, the editor of the influential London *Observer,* is politically a conservative and emotionally a liberal—this is the worst kind of combination for a friendly stand on the Soviet question—yet he has been advocating Anglo-American-Soviet cooperation in the Far East in behalf of China. England has taken the initiative in asking Washington to participate in a loan which would prevent the complete submission of China to Japan. Our reaction has been vague but not completely cold.

On this point it is difficult to understand President Roosevelt. He is called a "big-navy man." The big navy, it seems, is being built chiefly for the Pacific. The way it is being built, with airplane carriers and huge battleships, does not suggest that its chief use will be to protect California. If new keels are being laid and planned just because the President likes ships we ought to know it (and even then a navy creates a demand for work for that navy), but if they are being laid with an eye to Japan, then our Russian policy is pretty silly. British cooperation with America in the Pacific is not enough. In any event, to estrange Russia while the Pacific muddle remains unsettled is not the height of wisdom.

Meanwhile, even the temporary break in the Soviet-American debt negotiations has given the American enemies of the Soviet regime an opportunity to urge the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition, which is impossible, and the rupture of relations, which would be a serious blow to world peace. I know that the State Department decries this agitation and has tried to stop it; it complicates the department's task. Yet who but the officials of the State Department are to blame?

In times like these, when war clouds gather, two nations wedded to peace should not allow a minor issue to estrange them. With the balance between war and peace so delicate, that is a luxury they cannot afford.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter is in receipt of some interesting information about the prefabricated house now on exhibition at the Grand Central Palace. This dwelling, which can be ordered, erected, and finished in every detail, even to food in the refrigerator, in the space of two weeks, is undoubtedly a milestone in building construction. The day has not yet come when a modern office building, with tenants already installed, can be commanded overnight, but undoubtedly it will come. Meanwhile it is profitable to notice the equipment without which the new model house now on exhibition is not considered to be complete.

* * * * *

THERE is, of course, plumbing, heating, and electricity. The only remarkable thing about the inclusion of these as necessary equipment is that we no longer think it remarkable. There was a time when "plumbing" was not included in the house at all, but remained in the back yard; when lighting fixtures were part of the furniture, and were taken away when the furniture was removed; and when heating was furnished by the exertions of those able to wield an ax and saw, but not until well after the house was built. The new house includes an electric clock, a radio, and various other electric gadgets including a toaster and a coffee pot; a floor mop and a broom; even a kitchen apron, although this has been condemned as unsanitary. Naturally there is an electric dishwasher; almost as naturally the rooms are air-conditioned. Some of the materials out of which the house is fabricated are so new they have not yet been given names.

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INCURABLY a maker of comparisons, the Drifter recalls a story told him by a venerable lady many years ago. As a little girl she remembered having been taken to a "raising"—which is to say, the erection, by all the neighbors and himself, of a prospective householder's new home. It was a nice May day, she said, and the first thing the women did was to set up boards on trestles out under the trees. They had baskets and baskets full of lunch, and they sat out on the grass or on piles of new lumber and mended, while the children raced around and the men hammered. She said she particularly remembered the sound of their hammers, because it made a tune that went on in her head. In the middle of the day they all ate lunch—she forgot what the food was but she said there must have been doughnuts because her mother made famous ones and always contributed them to any neighborhood festival—and the men were very jolly and hot and there was a fresh smell of new wood and the apple trees were just beginning to bloom. And then after dinner the hammer tune began again, and went on till almost dark, and suddenly she heard a great shout and she ran out from wherever she had been playing, and the men were all laughing and waving their hats, and the house was "raised"—that is, the heavy timbers were sawed and fitted and in place and it was now in a state for the owner to go on building it himself with the help of his two grown sons.

* * * * *

THIS pleasant episode does not, of course, prove that community effort, including doughnuts, is the only proper way to build a house. There is undoubtedly something to be said for ordering them ready-made, and the heating and lighting systems in the old houses will not bear comparison, for comfort, with those in the new. The Drifter merely wonders what will be the next step. Some time ago, in *The Nation,* Douglas Haskell discussed a house that not only was prefabricated but could be moved about from place to place, an extraordinary departure from the old idea that property was fixed. But the Drifter can imagine a step still more revolutionary. It has been generally supposed for a long time that a house should be big enough for several persons. The snail proves the contrary. It may be that eventually we shall all carry our houses, completely air-conditioned and indirectly lighted, around on our backs. And wherever we go we shall be welcome, for we shall be at home, which will be admirable for a

DRIFTER

Correspondence

Revolt in the Middle West

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Louis Adamic's revealing articles in recent issues of *The Nation* on the La Follettes and the Progressive movement in Wisconsin had only one defect: in his admiration for the La Follette brothers Mr. Adamic tended to overlook the people of Wisconsin. As a participant in a movement which is attempting to make the Progressive and Farmer-Labor parties of Wisconsin and Minnesota the nucleus of a nation-wide third-party movement, pledged to the idea inherent in the first words of the Wisconsin Progressive platform, "Our economic system has failed," I can testify to the force of the "Wisconsin idea" and the La Follette leadership. But the brothers would be the first to admit their impotence without the power of an intelligent rank-and-file public opinion behind them. Derived as much from the socialist thought of the North Dakota Nonpartisan League as from the philosophy of the elder La Follette, the intelligence and strength of this Middle West revolt against the status quo are perhaps the most hopeful things in America today.

"In the spring of 1934 various farmer, labor, farmer-labor, and simply progressive groups," as Mr. Adamic says, began to demand third-party action in Wisconsin. As a matter of fact the agitation began long before that time, somewhat to the embarrassment of the La Follette brothers, who were far from convinced that they ought to leave the Republican Party. The Wisconsin Federation of Labor had long been demanding a Farmer-Labor Party modeled on the Minnesota party. The strikes and other militant action of the more vocal farmers had turned their thoughts toward independent political action on a national scale, and there was a demand in the Farmers' Holiday Association and the Wisconsin Milk Pool for a break with the discredited old parties. Socialists and Socialist sympathizers in Milwaukee were to be found in a potential alliance with the more militant Progressives, looking for a way to galvanize the Progressive movement into a really radical party.

As early as September, 1933, individuals from certain of these groups were in Chicago forming the Farmer-Labor Political Federation of the United States, to push third-party action in every state and nationally. Thomas R. Amlie, fresh from a term in Congress (he was reelected to the House in the Progressive landslide in 1934), became chairman of the federation, and in that capacity he stumped Wisconsin during the fall and winter months, meeting everywhere with a ready and growing response to his spoken and written plea that Wisconsin should step out in front with a new party.

Phil, meanwhile, like a good general who cannot afford to leave half his army behind, watched with a sympathetic eye in Madison, as the advance guard explored the new party territory. On the eve of the conference of his forces that was called for March 3, 1934, he was still doubtful of the strength of the sentiment, and William T. Evjue, editor of the *Progressive*, expressed the view of the soberer leaders that the time was not yet ripe for a shift to a new party. But the enthusiastic three-to-one vote for the shift clinched matters. And then, having received his mandate, Phil threw every ounce of energy into the new party movement.

The same cautious generalship marked the later conventions and the drawing up of the party platform. Phil brought up the doubtful stragglers at the cost of a good deal of dissatisfaction from those out in front, who wanted a rank-and-file-controlled Farmer-Labor Party on the Minnesota model, and a platform that frankly stated the objectives of a "cooperative commonwealth" in place of capitalism. He gladly accepted though he did not promote the Farmer-Labor and Progressive League proposed by the radicals as a membership organization.

I believe these facts should be known to those *Nation* readers who feel the hope of the future lies in such leaders as the La Follette brothers in Wisconsin, Olson in Minnesota, and other "radical" progressives of the rising Middle West type. It is because of the growing demand by a desperate electorate, which is also politically highly literate, that this spreading movement is hopeful. Without such a demand, growing out of a tradition of militant progressivism, such leadership as Phil's would not have the promise that it does.

New York, March 8 ALFRED M. BINGHAM,
Secretary, Farmer-Labor Political Federation

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A Fascist Victory at the Casa

[On January 30 *The Nation* printed several letters exchanged by Professor Salvemini of Harvard and the Graduate Club of Italian Studies at Columbia. This correspondence comprised, first, a letter from the club inviting Professor Salvemini to speak on the subject of Italian Nationalism from 1870 to the World War. It carefully explained that the invitation was not caused by *The Nation's* charges of fascism in the Italian Department, but was a part of the planned program for the year. It was sent from the Casa Italiana. Professor Salvemini replied that owing to the attitude of Professor Prezzolini, director of the Casa, he would not care to make an engagement to speak there without a written invitation from Prezzolini himself. A brief reply from the club stated, "We regret that Professor Prezzolini will not satisfy the conditions laid down in your letter." But a fuller letter, dated about three weeks later, announced that as the result of Prezzolini's refusal the Graduate Club of Italian Studies had decided to sever all connection with the Casa Italiana and would henceforth hold its meetings elsewhere; and in its new independent status it renewed its invitation to Dr. Salvemini to speak at a meeting arranged in cooperation with the Graduate History Club.

Further developments are revealed in the letters that follow. Again we are indebted to Professor Salvemini for the texts and the permission to print them. Our comment on the situation they reveal will be found in the editorial pages of this issue. It has just been announced that Professor Salvemini agreed to address the Graduate History Club on Monday, April 1.—Editors The Nation.]

Professor Gaetano Salvemini
Dear Sir:

In view of the fact that you have taken the liberty to submit our private correspondence to *The Nation* for publication without our permission, the members of the Executive Council of this club, by a majority vote, have decided to withdraw our invitation to speak to us.

Graduate Club of Italian Studies
Columbia University, February 6

Dear Professor Salvemini:

In a letter dated January 9 the Graduate Club of Italian Studies, after deciding to hold all its future meetings outside the Casa Italiana, renewed its invitation to you. This action was decided upon by a unanimous vote of the members of the Executive Council of the club who were present at the meeting that authorized the sending of the letter.

You have just received another letter from the club withdrawing its invitation on the ground that you have "taken the liberty to submit our private correspondence to *The Nation* for publication." You must be puzzled (to put it mildly) as to how this last letter could have been sent by a club which had previously declared its position as an organization of "liberal American students interested in the study of Italian culture" to be "clear and unequivocal."

Immediately after the publication of the correspondence in *The Nation*, other members of the Graduate Club were invited to the home of Mrs. Maria Piccirilli, an instructor at Vassar College. This gathering was called for a twofold purpose: (1) to protest the Executive Council's decision to withdraw from the Casa; (2) to withdraw the invitation issued to you. Those present at Mrs. Piccirilli's home decided to make their views known to the Executive Council at an official meeting, which was then called.

At this meeting three members of the Executive Council concurred with the views of the other club members and voted to withdraw the invitation which they had previously voted to extend to you. The undersigned, also members of the Executive Council, strongly condemn this action. Two of them voted against it and the third was not present at the meeting in question.

Since under the circumstances it is impossible for us to welcome you as members of the Graduate Club of Italian Studies, we look forward to your forthcoming address before the Graduate History Club.

New York, February 8

Marcel F. Grilli
Clifford T. McAvoy
Vincent Luciani

Dear Mr. Grilli:

Many thanks to you, Mr. McAvoy, and Mr. Luciani for your kind letter.

Yes, I did receive a letter signed "The Graduate Club of Italian Studies," which made me realize that documents emanating from that organization are meant to remain clandestine as if their authors were ashamed of them. The letter did not bear any personal signature, but the printed letter-head gave your name as that of the secretary of the club. Now I gather that you had resigned from that office and that therefore the anonymous authors of the letter made an improper use of your name. I am sure that they, and those who pull the strings behind the scenes, will not remain anonymous to their superior authorities in Rome, and will therefore receive an appropriate reward for their laudable zeal.

Cambridge, Mass., February 15 G. Salvemini

My Dear Mrs. Piccirilli:

The Executive Council of the Graduate Club of Italian Studies, at a meeting on December 27, 1934, decided to hold all future meetings outside of the Casa Italiana. This action was taken by authority of the club's constitution, which states that "all matters of policy concerning the Graduate Club of Italian Studies are to be determined by the Executive Council." A quorum of the council consisting of five of the seven members was present and unanimously voted this action.

At a meeting of the Executive Council held on February 5 three members resigned as members of the council. These three men, as you know, had previously voted to withdraw the club's invitation to Professor Gaetano Salvemini to speak to them outside the Casa Italiana, on the ground that Professor Salvemini had made public the club's private correspondence.

We, the undersigned, did not resign from the council at that time. We were quite aware that the other members of the Graduate Club, under your leadership, wished us to resign in order that they might elect a new Executive Council which would repudiate our constitutional action of declaring the Graduate Club to be independent of the Casa Italiana. We refused to resign because we felt that we were morally bound to uphold an action which had been decided upon for the sole purpose of clarifying our position as free American citizens who were not in the least interested in loyalty to any foreign government. We likewise felt that the attitude of the other members was not a free expression of their sincere views but a result of fear of reprisals in the form of withholding of degrees, fellowships, scholarships, and teaching positions. Such a fear may not have been justifiable; it was nevertheless present and expressed by certain of the members.

We now learn that the group of which you are chairman, totally disregarding the constitutional decision of the Executive Council referred to above, held a meeting at the Casa Italiana on March 2, and that in announcing this meeting you made use of the name of the Graduate Club of Italian Studies.

Since we consider this action to be highly arbitrary, and

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completely opposed to American democratic principles, we hereby resign as members of the Executive Council and as members of the Graduate Club of Italian Studies.

We are sending copies of this letter to all interested parties.

New York, March 4

MARCEL F. GRILLI
VINCENT LUCIANI
CLIFFORD T. MCAVOY

Adult Education

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

When the Emergency Education Program was first started at the end of 1933, the men in the key positions immediately recognized its possibilities, and "adult education" became the slogan. But, of course, in this country nothing can prove its value unless it can prove it by figures. And so the rule was invented that no class should be continued if its average attendance fell below ten.

We teachers are paid a dollar an hour for instruction and are allowed one additional hour on full pay for preparation. That no doubt sounds quite decent. I get ten dollars a week and work to the limit of my capacity seven days a week. Fortunately German, which I teach, is my native tongue and I know it well. If I did not, it would be too bad for my students. For I need all my time and strength in keeping up attendance and have neither a second nor an erg left for preparing a lesson in the sense of increasing my own knowledge. There is continuous letter writing, calling over the telephone, interviewing people, coaching privately newly entering students, reading individually to blind students, preparing extra material for less brilliant students. In spite of all this I am hardly able to satisfy attendance requirements. For my classes in "advanced" German are among the "high-brow" classes.

True the Director of the EEP in Berkeley, Mr. A. B. Campbell, handles the situation with the utmost tact, and gives us all possible cooperation in securing students. But the authorities apparently do not appreciate that it is one thing to get a student and another to retain one, let alone ten. The teaching process suffers tremendously from the fact that new students must continuously be accommodated; one is hardly able to advance. This makes the few superior and thus far faithful students drop out after some months, and the circle becomes literally a vicious circle.

We teachers are subjected to all kinds of humiliations and overwork on account of the attendance rules. And the adult population is deprived of any instruction above the "recreational" level. I should like to teach mathematics but cannot attempt it because I have been warned that I would not even find the five to ten students whom I can report now in my German classes. I saw a class on First Aid advertised. When I went there to enrol I was told that the class did not materialize for lack of a sufficient number of students.

Now that the university has raised its semester fee and shut out auditors, it would be particularly desirable to have the Emergency Education Program accommodate that contingent of the adult population which craves not merely a pastime but real intellectual improvement. No such thing is possible unless the classical maxim is accepted: "Tres faciunt collegium." If I teach calculus to one person have I not done as much for the intellectual growth of the community as the bridge teacher who "entertains" two score?

Berkeley, Cal., February 28 IRENE FREUDER

A 3-Way Guide: TELLS, SHOWS, EXPLAINS:

SEX PRACTICE *in* MARRIAGE

By C. B. S. Evans, M.D., F.A.M.A., Member White House Conference, Committee on Maternal Care, Washington — Introduction by R. W. Holmes, M.D., F.A.C.S., Professor of Obstetrics, Northwestern University Medical School — Prefatory and other notes by Norman Haire, Ch.M., M.B., Specializing Obstetrician, Gynecologist and Sexologist, London, England

— *and* —

CHARTS OF SEX ORGANS WITH DETAILED EXPLANATIONS

By ROBERT L. DICKINSON, M.D., F.A.C.S., Senior Gynecologist and Obstetrician, Brooklyn Hospital

CONTENTS

Section I. Bride and Groom
Section II. The Cold Wife–Frigidity
Section III. The Unsatisfied Wife
Section IV. Married Courtship
Section V. The Perfect Physical Expression of Love
Section VI. Illustrative Charts and Explanations

THE CHARTS

Female Sex Organs, Side View ● The Internal Sex Organs ● The External Sex Organs ● Female Sex Organs, Front View ● Entrance to Female Genital Parts ● Male Sex Organs, Side View ● Male Sex Organs, Front View ● Male Reproductive Cell, Front and Side Views. (*Detailed explanations accompany charts.*)

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Labor and Industry

The Menace of "Made Work"

By RICHARD A. LESTER

DURING the first months of the present Administration *The Nation* vigorously protested "against the folly of turning civil-service employees out into the ranks of the unemployed in order to save money with which to hire other unemployed for new, unorganized, and often useless work." Such absurd blood-letting in the name of economy was correctly entitled "boneheaded economy," since it merely meant the "creation of one army of unemployed in order to employ another."

In time the federal government practically ceased this stupid practice. But the states, and more especially the cities and counties, have continued to discharge faithful employees and to let others take over their employment in the name of relief. In this way much "made work" has merely made more unemployment. Such displacement of regulars by the needy unemployed, as Representative Bacon pointed out in the hearings on the President's new four-billion-dollar works bill, has been stimulated by the activities of the CWA, the PWA, and other federal spending agencies. Encouraged by federal and state subsidies for public work, local politicians have cut items in their budgets to the very bone and then whittled away on the bone.

The Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief in New York stated in its preliminary report: "The investigations of the commission have already revealed that there is a tendency on the part of several local governments to transfer a part of their normal functions to work relief—thus shifting a considerable part of the cost to state and federal governments." Not only in New York but all over the country, in city after city, government functions formerly paid for by local appropriation are now performed by relief clients. In hundreds of cities and towns federal and state funds have been used for snow removal, garbage and ash collection, street and building repair and construction, routine office and clerical work, and work on sewer and water systems—at "savings" amounting to thousands of dollars in each instance, savings made possible by federal spending. For example, we find the CWA administrator in Idaho asserting that as a result of CWA operations some counties will find it unnecessary to levy for road purposes for the next five years.

Why haven't the authorities put a stop to this absurd practice of robbing Peter to pay unemployed Paul relief wages? Why haven't they established clear-cut criteria for determining whether the expansion of work that they are forcing in one line will cause contraction somewhere else? In Germany measures have been adopted to check the increase of unemployment resulting from made work, but here we have simply left the matter to the biased judgment of local officials. When confronted with the results of their inertia, our state and federal authorities react like ostriches. In this connection a paragraph from a three-page report by an official in a state work-relief bureau may be quoted:

> When the 1933 budgets for the various municipalities were made up, they appear to have been slashed in various parts with the deliberate intent to use relief labor in place of what would normally be done by regular municipal employees. We are constantly reiterating to the municipal and other officials with whom we come in contact that normal functions of municipal government should not be carried out by relief labor, but all our preaching in this connection appears to have been without avail.

Nothing has been done about this report. It is collecting dust in the Relief Administration's files. In the meantime throughout the state more municipal work has been earmarked for the unemployed on relief.

When a local CWA director asked his state headquarters for specific instructions regarding policy in cases where the municipalities were attempting to shift the burden of their normal activities to the CWA, he received the following reply:

> Our policy in this matter would be one of non-interference with any such procedure. . . . We can take no action other than point out to the municipality that the services supplied by us are merely on a temporary basis.

There would be some excuse for such an attitude if the facts were not known. But they are; they are patent and indisputable. An analysis of the expenditures of certain New York cities and counties during 1932, the first year of work relief in that state, clearly indicates that budget items have been cut in direct proportion to the amount of relief work performed in those lines. Ratios of budget reduction in items of controllable expense have been calculated. They show that the five cities and seven counties spending the highest per capita amounts on work relief cut expenditures on "public works" items—highways, parks, and the like, upon which most of the relief clients are usually employed—about 30 per cent more than they reduced expenditures for other controllable items. The same calculations for those cities and counties spending the least per capita on work relief show that there was no disproportionate reduction for these items of controllable expense.

There would also be some excuse for hesitancy and delay if there were not a fund of past experience, both foreign and domestic, to warn us of the dangers inherent in wholesale public employment for the unemployed. These dangers have been frequently exposed, many writers having harped on the fact that widespread relief work disrupts public enterprise and displaces public employees. I should like to quote extensively from the English Poor Law Reports and the writings of the Webbs on this matter, but I shall confine myself to one excerpt. As a result of repeated attempts in England from 1886 until 1905 to relieve unemployment by made work,

> . . . it came to be recognized, even among the workmen, that it was impossible, in this artificial manufacture of municipal work, to avoid anticipating the ordinary employment of the permanently engaged staff of laborers, or that of the contractors, so that the very employment of the unemployed was creating, for the future, even more unemployment.

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The English found that this tendency to displace regular employees by relief workmen was accelerated when wage rates lower than so-called prevailing rates were paid for relief employment. This fact also should be a warning to those who may administer the President's new four-billion-dollar program, with its suggested $50-a-month "security payments."

The President, his aides, and the Republican opposition in all their public utterances seem unduly anxious to avoid offending "private enterprise." In his annual message the President laid down the principle that "the projects undertaken should be selected and planned so as to compete as little as possible with private enterprise." This is dropping the bone to bark at a shadow. The real danger, which is generally overlooked, is the effect of such a program on future public appropriations and employment. And when the President enunciates the further "principle" that projects using "a large percentage of direct labor" should be selected, one can feel pretty sure that employment for the "employables" on relief will mean a corresponding loss of employment for those who normally earn a livelihood from the expenditures of our cities, villages, towns, and counties.

Just as the CWA was practically another name for work relief, this new four-billion-dollar public-works program is likely to turn out to be little more than the CWA all over again, unless the work is expanded to include production of goods that these unemployed so sorely need and not confined solely to normal "public works." As we have observed, the more emergency employment is concentrated on certain types of projects and limited to certain locations, the more displacement will occur. Those who are accustomed to look to public appropriations for their living are certain to suffer if the 3,750,000 "employables" now on the relief rolls are put to work on public property, where from one and a half to four million relief clients have been working for the past year and a half. The relief authorities will be assisting the "employables" on relief not only at public expense but at the expense of the two million regular state and local employees and the one million others who, I estimate, normally receive at least a part of their sustenance from the public purse, working either on contracts let for non-federal public work or on occasional odd jobs such as snow removal.

The Brass Knuckles of the Neutrals

By HEYWOOD BROUN

THE courts, the cops, and all the agencies of government are supposedly neutral during strike activities. At least that is the theory. But it is at best the neutrality of a Pilate of Judea. The police will stay out of the picture only if the armed guards and thugs of the company concerned can carry on the terror for themselves. By some most curious misapprehension "strike violence" in the public mind is associated with the acts of the workers. The press plays up this great delusion. But even the most casual inquiry will show that in the vast majority of cases violence is begun by the employer and carried out by him to the bitter end.

A case in point is the strike against the National Biscuit Company. This is being waged on several fronts, but I will confine myself to the activities along Tenth Avenue and Fifteenth Street in the city of New York. For a period of half an hour or more all the blocks surrounding the plant suddenly become company property at about half-past four in the afternoon. Tenth Avenue was once a public thoroughfare, but now that estate is denied to it because of the needs of the National Biscuit Company. You may be the most disinterested person in the world and yet you will not be allowed to walk by the plant at the time the strike-breakers are coming out. If you assert your rights the police are prepared to play tough. It is even reported that passersby at times have been herded into stores or restaurants and kept there until the sacred strike-breakers had been whisked away from any risk of contaminating conversation.

Trucks of the company bearing "loyal workers" speed in and out of the district in defiance of red lights and with no regard for other vehicles. The National Biscuit Company by the mere impertinence of squatter sovereignty has reached out and seized a strip of Manhattan to make a moat for itself. And since it is dealing with natives who are supposedly more civilized than their predecessors the Indians, no beads or wampum figure in the transaction. "We need four or five streets," says the N. B. C., and calmly reaches out and takes them.

This procedure should give pause to those who think that the police and the militia and the regulars should always be called out in labor disputes "to protect property." I venture to ask, "Whose property rights?" Just as the employer is the great violator in the matter of instigating and maintaining terror, so he is in the matter of scrapping property rights when the pressure is on him. The boss he is an absent-minded beggar, and he becomes just a bit confused as to where his property line begins and ends. Give him the cops and a few national guardsmen and he will carve himself a new empire out of his neighbors' porches and back yards. I do not speak in fantasy. Some of the fiercest rioting in Toledo last summer occurred at points at least half a mile away from the Autolite plant. Once the militia came in, the majors and the colonels began to behave as if they were engaged in warfare with a foreign foe. They were not content to defend the physical property assigned to them, but never turned in happily at night unless they could issue a communique announcing the extension of their lines. The city was not under martial law, but peaceful residents of the whole section where the plant was situated had an excellent chance of waking up in the morning to find their lawns reeking with the gas bombs of the troops. For blocks around houses were made uninhabitable simply because an overzealous militia contingent was apparently bent on the capture of the entire city of Toledo. The property rights of the small home-owners and storekeepers never received a moment's consideration, because the rights of a large manufacturer obliterated them.

In Gary, Indiana, I found that the United States Steel

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If you are interested

in asking yourself, "What major issues lie behind the current statement that 'our thoughts and acts are determined by our interests' ?"

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in working out a *usable attitude* towards the present (with its natural accompaniments, a philosophy of the past and the future) and with a view to deciding what forms your "resignation" must take

you should be interested in "Permanence and Change," by Kenneth Burke (The New Republic, $1.)

Kenneth Burke is not a professional philosopher. He is a writer of stories and criticism, who found that the perplexities of the day impelled him to move his questionings on from one point to another. The result of this obstinacy might be called philosophy. The author calls it "metabiology," since he is impelled to situate the basis of certainty in the organic structure of life itself. But, if you prefer, simply think of the book as a "psychological fiction," in which such thinkers as Bentham, Marx, Darwin, Freud, Spinoza, Nietzsche, Bergson, Veblen, Dewey and the many brands of modern artist are allowed to speak their parts.

Naturally in a treatment of 352 pages, his book is not exhaustive. But we think you will find it provocative—and on these grounds we recommend it to your attention.

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Corporation very frankly assumed imperial rights over the entire city. About the only place you could stand unmolested by company cops was on the outbound platform of the railroad station. When big business screams for guns and tanks and cavalry "to protect property rights," it means of course its own, and heaven help the rights of any little fellow who gets in the line of the drive.

It seems to me that among the neglected rights is the right of the veteran employee to his job. When a man has been working over a stretch of time upon a job I think he should have some edge of ownership in that bench and that pay envelope. Harsh names are used deservedly about workers who break strikes. The man who takes another's job is a far more despicable thief than the one who takes another's watch or wallet. But this is the sort of rogue the police are called in to protect.

Neutrality in labor disputes means the use of militia and police to foment violence and rob the whole community of civil rights. Neutrality means the issuing of court injunctions which deprive the striker of every lawful device which he may use to win his point. It was my impression that the document issued recently by Vice-Chancellor Berry in New Jersey was the most drastic on record. Senator Wagner examined the paper and told me that he had seen a more punishing one once in Pennsylvania. This restrained the strikers from praying publicly for the sake of their cause. Most anti-labor injunctions are not like that. They leave the worker with a prayer.

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Books and Drama

And Tomorrow

Pylon. By William Faulkner. Smith and Haas. $2.50.

FOR his central observer or "reverberator" in this new novel Mr. Faulkner has chosen a character that is like a grotesque caricature of the typical hero of the post-war generation of poets and novelists. From one of the chapter-headings, Lovesong of J. A. Prufrock, it is apparent that Mr. Faulkner himself would have us make some such ironic connection. The unnamed reporter in the story is the bedraggled heir of the pallid Laforguian celibate of the early Eliot, the masochistic intellectuals of Aldous Huxley, and the sterile *aficionados* of Ernest Hemingway. The outward and visible sign of his impotence is his almost ghostly physical fragility: "a scarecrow in a winter field," "a paper sack of empty beer bottles in the street," "a dandelion burr moving where there is no wind." From such comparisons it should also be plain that he is being made to serve as the whipping-boy for Mr. Faulkner's whole generation. He is, or has been, the image which that generation has found staring back at itself every morning in the mirror. And the mirror must somehow and in some way be broken.

Although the image is not once and for all shattered in Mr. Faulkner's novel, it is at least temporarily dissolved in the blinding light of a rather new and certainly stirring expression of human indifference to the discomforts of living and the menace of death. On an aviation field outside New Orleans, while the Mardi Gras is at its height in that city, the half-crazy reporter, "patron saint of all waifs," picks up with a group of barnstorming aerial performers, consisting of the pilot Schumann, his wife, a parachute jumper, and a small child of undetermined parentage. There is also Jiggs, the mechanic, whose eyes are like electric bulbs and whose legs are like a polo pony's. For the reporter these people "ain't human like us . . . crash one and it ain't even blood when you haul him out: it's cylinder oil the same as in the crankcase." They are in every sense the inhabitants of another element: the bright emissaries of a vacuum "beyond flesh and time." Yet the enchanted reporter shelters them, lets them rob him, and in his inchoate fashion falls in love with the woman. It is through his efforts also that Schumann secures the ramshackle plane with which the flier hopes to win a two-thousand-dollar prize, but in which he is doomed to mark his last pylon. Disaster and savage disillusion are not to be escaped; and the reporter's story ends with a scattering of discarded purple patches on a city-room floor.

Of course it is a familiar romanticism which causes Mr. Faulkner to turn to what is for our time the most spectacular expression of the perennial instinct of flight. These reckless nomads of the air are not essentially different from the graceful toreadors that court death so beautifully in the pages of Hemingway. (And it may be remarked that they are presented with the same remoteness and opaqueness: none of them is quite so real as the sensibility for which they exist with such charm and fascination.) Admiration of their careless intrepidity does not drown the burden: "Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow; not only not to hope, not even to wait: just to endure." If the novel still manages to be much the best that Faulkner has yet written, therefore, it is not because this writer has at last discovered a permanent balm for his generation. It is not because one can point to any growth in a philosophical sense, any modification or enlargement of his theme. It is rather that in this book he has found an almost ideal subject for the presentation of his theme. By writing about fliers and flying machines he has indeed made his subject indistinguishable from the theme of flight into the life of action, which has been one of the three or four dominating themes in contemporary fiction. And he has given to the treatment of that theme an interest and power which one had believed that it was no longer capable of sustaining.

WILLIAM TROY

Scared and Confused Liberals

Farewell to Revolution. By Everett Dean Martin. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

Deliver Us from Dictators! By Robert C. Brooks. University of Pennsylvania Press. $2.50.

WHATEVER the weaknesses of liberalism as a creed, liberalism as a temper might still make solid contributions to our confused era by weighing the claims and counter-claims of tories and radicals with something like dispassionate calm. All great social conflicts are aggravated because the conservatives obscure the realities of the conflict with moral pretensions and the radicals give themselves to unjustified utopian illusions. To strip the former of their pretensions and puncture the illusions of the latter is not an impossible task for the best of the liberal spirits, even though it must be granted that there is no locus between contending factions broad enough or high enough to guarantee that complete immunity from party prejudice which liberals affect to achieve.

I thought at first that Mr. Martin might have written the kind of book that would be in the spirit of such a liberalism. Indeed, he has a chapter on the romanticism of radicals which quite correctly points out that men who are intent upon building a new civilization have a tendency to promise paradise when the best they can deliver is an economic and political organization more adequate to the needs of a new era. But the book soon degenerates into a diatribe against every conceivable sort of revolutionist and reveals the author to be either too confused or too apprehensive in the face of possible revolutionary cataclysms to perform the task of the true liberal.

The thesis that revolutions are futile is established partly by pointing to unsuccessful revolutions and partly by tracing the ambiguous consequences of successful ones. The revolts of the slaves in antiquity and of the serfs in the Middle Ages are the author's chief examples of unsuccessful revolutions. Successful revolutions are condemned because they did not achieve all they hoped for, or because they were attended by social confusion, or because the "masses" took them out of the hands of their moderate leaders, or because the masses were disappointed when they failed to do this.

The decay of the Roman Empire is attributed to the revolution which destroyed the republic, a rather simple reading of Roman history. The Cromwellian revolution is discredited because it failed to achieve what was accomplished at the end of the same century without bloodshed when William and Mary came to the throne. The Commonwealth and the constitution of 1688 are treated as isolated events in the history of seventeenth-century England with little suggestion that the first event may have contributed to the second. Nor does Mr. Martin make the tedious observation that Charles lost his head because he refused to yield any of the royal prerogatives which the constitution of 1688 definitely abolished.

Some of Mr. Martin's historical analyses suggest that revolutions are sometimes inevitable, however costly and dangerous, when old political and economic forces refuse to yield to new forces in society. The bourgeois revolutions of the

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eighteenth and nineteenth century are curiously misinterpreted in order to obscure this obvious point. On the whole, though not with complete consistency, the odium of revolutions is placed upon the advancing, and not on the intrenched, forces of society. The fascist revolutions of Italy and Germany are thrown in the lap of radicalism by the simple dictum that "they are not counter-revolutionary in any historical sense of the word," because by counter-revolution "is meant Catholic legitimist reaction."

Incidentally the same tendency to obscure inconvenient facts with words is apparent in the treatment of the American revolutionary war. The author is too patriotic to carry his thesis through in regard to the American Revolution, and therefore solves his problem by asking the question: "Was this a revolution in the true sense of the word or was it primarily a war for national independence?"

Since the Protestant Reformation was a revolution by the author's definition, he is forced by the sweeping character of his general indictment to discredit it. The deed is done with the words:

> When we compare, for standards of culture and liberty and the joy of living, the modern Protestant nations with modern Catholic France or Austria, or search for spiritual advantages of the Protestant states of Germany over Catholic states, there is little to be said for any gains which may have been achieved by the Reformation. Certainly Protestant England is or was more advanced than Catholic Spain but—the advantages are largely material and are the result of the Industrial Revolution.

There is indeed no clear gain in Protestantism over Catholicism, but these comparisons are puerile. Catholic France? Was there not a revolution in France which reduced Catholicism to a subordinate role in French life? The comparison between Austria and Germany must have been prompted by a preference for Vienna over Berlin. The chance of pointing out that England never had a Reformation in the Continental sense is missed.

The whole book reveals the glaring weakness of a certain type of liberalism, namely, ignorance of and indifference to the basic economic and political conditions of the good life. Romantic radicals are wrong in expecting to solve every problem of life through a political and economic reorganization, but their error is certainly no greater than the one contained in these words:

> Our happiness is less dependent upon external forms of social organization than upon the advancement of knowledge and the prevalence of the spirit of culture and good-will among mankind. Almost any social system could be made to work by good men.

Mr. Martin's argument is as ridiculous as would be a plea to a denizen of a leaky and unstable shack not to bother about such "external forms" of his life as the roof and the foundation of his house but to give himself to the cultivation of culture and good-will within. In short, this book has almost persuaded one timid "intellectual," who believes in democracy as a necessary form of social control upon power but is not certain that democracy as a method of arbitrating conflict will always suffice in a crisis, to forget his scruples and be a revolutionist.

Robert Brooks's book "Deliver Us from Dictators!" is prompted by the same mood as "Farewell to Revolution," and it deals with dictatorship with the same lack of interest in, and insight into, the economic and social forces which make for the destruction of democracy in our era. Pages are spent in analyzing and excoriating the dishonesties of contemporary dictators. The measure of its penetration may be gauged by a sentence in a chapter which estimates the chances of fascism in America:

> Finally it must be observed that Franklin Roosevelt isn't the type [to be a dictator]. He is sane, has a sense of humor, he is free from demagogy and Napoleonic ambitions. Unfortunately for the would-be fascists of America they lack the sort of leader demanded by that sort of cause.

If democracy had no other than these defenders its doom were sealed.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

In Behalf of the Consumer

Partners in Plunder. By J. B. Matthews and R. E. Shallcross. Covici-Friede. $2.50.

The Popular Practice of Fraud. By T. Swann Harding. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

"PARTNERS IN PLUNDER," the most recent work to come from the erudite Consumers' Research school, is a confused attempt to hook the popularity of "debunkery," so successful in "100,000,000 Guinea Pigs," to some school of current social and political thought. That the book fails in this is not for want of effort on the part of the authors. They have crammed its pages with "facts" and dragged in social interpretations by the ears. Their basic weakness is one that has consistently characterized this school, the inability to discriminate between rackets and genuine social movements. They merely berate business for its fascist tendencies and leave the reader in a haze of doubt about possible alternatives. Apparently the authors can do nothing but cling to themselves and retire to a safe storm cellar when the cyclone of fascism, which they so clearly foresee, sweeps all before it.

In "The Popular Practice of Fraud" Mr. Harding has also diligently compiled a record of chicanery in American business that stands as an indictment of the profit motive. In addition he takes some thumping whacks at Consumers' Research:

> In some cases the standards of comparison used by Consumers' Research appear, even to experts, to be too refined. It expects too much of human nature. [Messrs. Matthews and Shallcross refuse to expect anything but the worst of human nature.] It hopes to attain an unnecessarily refined degree of consumer protection. In other cases facts appear, perhaps unconsciously, to have been distorted or misrepresented, and there is an atmosphere of strong animus amounting almost to a persecution complex about the organization and its staff. An apparent endeavor is made to have consumers believe that this organization alone affords them any protection from the criminal rapacity of producers, and that all other agencies delude and betray them.

Where are we consumers to look? The experts are competing against each other for the privilege of fiddling while we consumers burn.

Both these books display a deep interest in their subject, but both refuse to face its social implications. "The Popular Practice of Fraud" is better organized and more readable, perhaps because it is not attempting to justify and rationalize the social position of a research organization. It pounds out its subject in page after page, covering the ground with what seems to be meticulous accuracy and completeness. It avoids discussing the problem of fraud in relation to other social ills, perhaps happily. Mr. Harding says: "It is not the purpose of this book to argue for or against any fundamental reconstruction of the social and economic system. The case is merely presented from the point of view of prevalent commercial practice." Mr. Harding pins his faith on "a law demanding truth in advertising" and nothing more.

With the exception of Mr. Harding's faith in the law,

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EDITED BY ARTHUR LIVINGSTON

Translated by Arthur Livingston and Andrew Bongiorno
with the advice and active cooperation of James Harvey Rogers

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all three authors sidestep the question of what can be done. They overlook the possibility that consumers—workers, farmers, and professional people—may organize in their own defense. Mr. Harding frankly calls such efforts, carried on by a rapidly growing cooperative movement, reformist in nature. Matthews and Shallcross apparently view the tendency with open contempt as a fascist development. They overlook the fact that the cooperative movement has a direct relation to the labor movement in all industrial countries and that a great weakness in this country has been the lack of a strong cooperative movement. They also fail to understand that cooperation is the logical organizational "bridge" of practical understanding and action between city worker-consumers and farmers.

Perhaps these authors have ignored this movement because they see fraud and chicanery for the most part as a question of quality. They have made no effort to explain the great social fraud of prices and wages. These affect consumers as much as if not more than questions of quality. The tremendous social tragedy of sweating men at machines, working at subsistence levels, toiling night and day (those who are employed at all) to produce consumers' goods of dubious value (at least not what they might be), for which they themselves as consumers pay prices based on a tribute to profit, is lost sight of in the novelty of petty deception.

Neither "Partners in Plunder" nor "The Popular Practice of Fraud" can be considered a very profound contribution to a solution of the problem of consumers. They will both prove amusing to the mentally unemployed intelligentsia.

JOSEPH P. KELLEY

Not to Be Classified

Poems, et Cetera. By David Greenhood. San Francisco: Helen and Bruce Gentry. $2.

ANYONE who reads the magazines today must be aware that a large body of current American literature is being advertised under the heading of various movements. This tendency has of course become evident in poetry. In the name of "regionalism," "the New Deal," and "communism" we have been confronted by three indisputably bad books of verse: "The Man with the Bull-Tongue Plough," "American Song," and "Upsurge." Meanwhile actual poems are being written by men whose work escapes the conventional means of classification. A partial list reveals the names of Hal Saunders White, Louis Grudin, John Wheelright, James Agee, Winfield Scott, Robert Fitzgerald, Ernest Walsh (a posthumous volume), and now David Greenhood. These poets do not constitute a group in themselves, nor can their aesthetic be reduced to a common denominator; whatever set of doctrines each may approach, each starts his journey from a highly personalized vantage-point, and each contributes poetry of serious intention.

I would say that the present book of thirty-two pages is the product of rigorous selection, and that the poet's own standard of excellence is very high. One fine sonnet, All Doom That Was, is made to stand for half a hundred sonnets; note the directness and simplicity of the sestet:

> The record of the blue firmament in me,
> Of my blue Spring bewildered into tears,
> Is but a hope that this dear poetry
> Itself can almost be what it endears.
> I give a sad luxuriant substitute
> In this for her whole world where love is mute.

Throughout the book the same economy is used and with it the same withdrawal of "poetic" pretensions; in their stead is a personal observation, as though the poet were writing a letter to a friend. The prose poem, Life of a Hunter, is characteristic; and there the symbolic reference to a deer is made to represent an entire range of experience; it is a testament wherein the virtues of sincerity are revealed:

> . . . and I am left wasting the air I breathe.
> Damn these deer! They are the cause of all sorrow.

HORACE GREGORY

Sun Yat-sen

Sun Yat-sen, His Life and Its Meaning. A Critical Biography. By Lyon Sharman. The John Day Company. $3.50.

MRS. SHARMAN would be the first to admit that a definitive biography of Sun Yat-sen has still to be written. But as she very clearly points out, it will not be written until the uncritical hero-worship with which Sun Yat-sen is still regarded in China has given way to an atmosphere in which the student of modern history can function unfettered by social and political censorship. In the meantime, her study stands out as the most successful attempt in the English language to interpret the life and teachings of the so-called father of the Chinese Revolution—and in view of the limitations on Chinese scholarship in this direction it doubtless outranks existing Chinese-language biographies.

Mrs. Sharman has not been able to write a definitive biography for a number of reasons. There is a complete lack of reliable critical Chinese studies, and living Chinese who knew and worked with Sun Yat-sen are reluctant to reveal the full contents of their minds. Earlier foreign biographies are woefully inadequate from a scholarly point of view, and many of them are biased by adulation of their subject or by a desire to make his teachings conform with a particular school of thought, whether it be Protestantism, Catholicism, or republicanism. For the latter reason much of the source material is also unreliable: first-hand accounts of episodes in Sun's life by missionaries were weighted toward their supposed Christian content; Americans, Englishmen, Japanese, and Russians reported events from their own economic and political biases. And the greatest difficulty of all arises from the inconsistencies and incompleteness of the written records left by Sun Yat-sen himself.

With such handicaps as these, the wonder is that Mrs. Sharman has written so successful an account. Her approach to the task and her method of reasoning are clearly stated. She was motivated by an irresistible urge to understand modern China, and the key to this understanding she concluded was Sun Yat-sen's life. Fully aware of the difficulties involved, for years she persistently collected data and by all the means at the disposal of a biographer of a modern figure strove to separate the true from the false. No incident or thought process of Sun Yat-sen's life was accepted uncritically. Where verification of facts was impossible, Mrs. Sharman frankly says so. At a dozen points in the book she warns the reader to be skeptical of some episode or the interpretation she places on it; frequently she points out problems on which further investigation is needed before the truth can be set forth.

The figure that emerges from the pages of this biography will not be pleasing to the Sun Yat-sen cult. At one point Mrs. Sharman, addressing herself directly to his uncritical worshipers, says: "But let us not dehumanize him by attributing to him a superhumanly clear and highly inspired prophetic vision. His was a pedestrian and stumbling progress. Slowly he made his way in spite of intellectual limitation, crude intrigue, bad judgment, faulty coordinations, and wild misreckonings of the human equation. Yet in all Sun Yat-sen's unrealized plans the core was an indisputably laudable ideal." Mrs. Sharman reveals him as a leader of persuasive personality,

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a gifted though undramatic speaker, author of broad plans and programs in which practical details were often conspicuously lacking and in which there was little originality, not shrewd or a great thinker, credulous to an extreme, intellectually inconsistent, essentially a propagandist for borrowed ideas, unable to work with others unless he held autocratic powers of command, totally unskilled in group functioning, a fearless discarder of tradition and adopter of new ideas, an egoist—but withal a man convinced he was born with a mission, the mission as he conceived it being sufficiently correlated to Chinese trends to explain his position of leadership.

With reference to one premise of her study the reviewer is skeptical. Mrs. Sharman correctly points out in the preface that Sun Yat-sen's life can be understood only as an integral part of Chinese development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She accordingly devotes much attention to describing this setting. But Mrs. Sharman's conception of Chinese development is confined to its human aspects as distinguished from its environmental and technological ones, and she is therefore led to picturing the Chinese setting largely in terms of political personalities. She says: "To me all that has happened in China has been wrought out of human endeavor and human resistance. . . . Gigantic as China's modern movements are, transcending our frail powers of analysis and understanding, the country's development, I still must believe, is in the hands of her citizens." And this postulate of the individual as the core of history leads Mrs. Sharman in the final analysis to find the essential weakness of Sun Yat-sen and of all the Chinese republican attempts at reconstruction in their incapacity for cooperative group functioning in the modern sense. Such a basis of reasoning hardly serves to explain Chinese separatist movements, the forces of imperialism, or the current Soviet movement, let alone the bankruptcy of the current phase of Kuomintang policy. The principles of Marxism certainly deserve a conspicuous place in any attempt to interpret China or the role of any individual in Chinese history.

With this exception—and it is important or trivial according to the individual's conception of historical processes—and with due recognition of the handicaps under which she worked, Mrs. Sharman has written an excellent critical biography of Sun Yat-sen. It is the best biography so far produced. It will inevitably be taken into serious consideration in any further attempts to estimate the outstanding figure of the Chinese political revolution.

FREDERICK V. FIELD

A Bell with Many Echoes

Wheels and Butterflies. By William Butler Yeats. The Macmillan Company. $2.

MR. YEATS'S title for this volume of one-act plays with prefaces is drawn from the couplet which serves as its motto: "To garret or cellar a wheel I send, but every butterfly to a friend." Garrets and cellars are the intellectual coteries, now absorbed by politics; to them these plays are intended to convey hints of the author's mystical philosophy of history, in which the wheel symbolizes the Great Year of the soul's eternal gyration from consciousness to unconsciousness, from subjectivity to objectivity, and return. To others, perhaps he wishes to say, they will be charming trifles with no hidden significance.

The plays, which are in prose except for occasional songs, make agreeable reading; they should also be pleasant to witness as performed by the Abbey Players. Along with the verbal beauty of all Yeats's writings, they seem, if one may judge from the printed page, to have somewhat greater dramatic qualities than most of his previous plays.

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In The Words Upon the Window-Pane the spirit of Swift breaks into a séance to reveal, in impassioned dialogues with Vanessa and Stella, his reasons for refusing to marry. Fighting the Waves, its author says modestly, is merely a libretto for dancing, masks by the Dutch sculptor Van Krop, and music by Antheil, whose score is appended. The most recent of the plays and also the weightiest is The Resurrection, which presents Mr. Yeats's version of what happened to the souls of Hebrew and Greek at the beginning of the Christian cycle. The Cat and the Moon is a slight affair based on the old allegory of the lame man and the blind man.

The prefaces are of equal interest with the plays. In his exquisite and subtly irritant prose, which itself moves in gyres, Mr. Yeats makes sly comments and prophecies on such matters as nationalism, Irish history, the revolt of the masses, the contemporary arts, and the value of myth-making. "I must speak," he writes, "of things that come out of the common consciousness, where everything is like a bell with many echoes." He sees the modern mind beginning to yearn for its opposite: "Perhaps now that the abstract intellect has split the mind into categories, the body into cubes, we may be about to turn back towards the unconscious, the whole, the miraculous; according to a Chinese sage darkness begins at midday."

If the Irish seer resembles in some respects those soothsayers and diviners with whom the true prophets wished not to be confused, one often seems also to detect the authentic voice of Yahweh, speaking, it is true, in accents rather suaver than of wont. Most of Mr. Yeats's readers will consider his intuitions sounder than the cabalistic doctrines with which he supports them. He may not be able to tell us much of wars and dynasties to come, but he has many suggestive things to say about the direction in which the contemporary consciousness is being drawn, by a fascination not unmixed with horror, to seek its appropriate mask and image.

PHILIP BLAIR RICE

Shorter Notices

Hamlet. Edited by John Dover Wilson. The Macmillan Company. $4.50.

Mr. Wilson, proceeding now without his collaborator, the late Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, adds the fifteenth and most important volume to a famous edition of Shakespeare which has been going forward since 1921 under the auspices of the Cambridge University Press. The material for a textual introduction to this play was so voluminous that Mr. Wilson recently treated it in two separate volumes called "The Manuscript of Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'"; and he has so much to

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say about the play as a play that he is soon to publish a work called "What Happens in 'Hamlet.'" The present work is then but the middle one of three which Mr. Wilson will have devoted to Shakespeare's masterpiece. Already it seems safe to say that the three works considered as a whole will be the most ambitious contribution yet made by any scholar to the literature of "Hamlet." Not only is the text cleared up here at numerous difficult and hitherto obscure points, Mr. Wilson's notes being both copious and practical; but his Introduction, and indeed his management of the whole task, reveals him as the freshest commentator upon "Hamlet" that this century has had. For in addition to an immense learning he has a very unusual store of common sense, along with a mind which knows both by nature and by training how to behave in the presence of a great piece of writing. This is not to deny that some of his findings will meet with disagreement. The perfect editor is not the editor with whom most students will easily agree. He is rather what Mr. Wilson tends to be: always informed, always brilliant, always interesting, and always respectful of the poem which has provided him with his occupation.

The World Went Mad. By John Brophy. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

In "The World Went Mad" Mr. Brophy has portrayed something of the confusion attendant on the war years. The method employed in the writing of the novel—interrelated sketches, throw-backs and throw-forwards, independent and dependent pen-portraits—is chaotic and lacking in discipline. This method is effective in one sense—it throws the reader back into the flow and wash of the hysterical atmosphere of war—but at no time do we feel a mutual relation of method and story; the sense of confusion is conveyed, surely, but it is a confusion belonging to the author. The feeling of loss is derived less from the story before us than from our belief that had he employed another manner in the telling, we should have another story and a better one.

Drama

Case History

THE special audience of the Theater Union seemed to like very much its latest offering "Black Pit" (Civic Repertory Theater). I doubt, however, that this piece will have for the general public anything like the appeal of the two previous plays, and the reason is simple: Albert Maltz's drama of stool pigeons and strikes has far less to offer those of us who do not attend the theater primarily for the purpose of studying the problems of labor. By any standards "The Sailors of Cattaro" was a well-written play, and the cruder "Stevedore" had at least a large measure of simple melodramatic excitement. "Black Pit," however, for all its earnestness of purpose and its competent, workman-like writing, is quite uninspired. It proceeds carefully, logically, and not intemperately upon its way. Though frankly partisan of course, it neither loads the dice nor paints its villains blacker than there is need to paint them. But it rises to no great heights of excitement and it remains for the most part respectably pedestrian. In other words, "Black Pit" satisfies the requirements of the formula for "social drama" without accomplishing that something more without which the fulfilment of any formula is rather less than enough.

The scene is a West Virginia coal mine, and the story follows the outlines of what is doubtless a fairly typical series of events. A young Slovak miner is railroaded to prison for

LOOK OUT

for Marsh City—that's Lame Hank Pugh's. Look out for Greenville—that's old Seth Healey's. He'll be walking the tops and be dressed like a 'bo, so you'll never know by his looks he's a bull. But he'll have a gun on his hip and a hose-length in his hand, and two deputies coming down both the sides; your best bet then is to stay right still. You can't get away and he'll pot you if you try. So give him what you got and God help you if you're broke. When he lifts up that hose-line just cover up your eyes and don't try any back-fightin' when it comes down—*sww-ish*. God help you if you run and God help you if you fight; God help you if you're broke and God help you if you're black.

Look out for Greenville, it's right above Boykin, and it's Seth Healey's town. Look out for Lima, too—that's in Ohio. And look out for Springfield, the one in Missouri. Look out for Denver and Denver Jack Duncan. Look out for Tulsa, look out for Joplin. Look out for Chicago—look out for Fort Wayne—look out for St. Paul, look out for Dallas—look out—look out—look out—LOOK OUT!

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a bit of sabotage which he happens not to have committed. On his return he finds himself placed on the black list and without hope of a job unless he will consent to act as informer for the boss. Being an ardent unionist, he refuses; but events are too much for him, and when it becomes a question of getting a company doctor for his young wife on the point of childbirth he gives in. Mentally he has resolved that he will not actually betray his comrades, but he finds it impossible to escape the trap which has been set, and the name of the chief union agitator is wrung from him. Then comes the strike, and the discovery of his double-dealing. His comrades turn away and his crippled brother pronounces his doom; there is nothing left except flight and shame. The wife and the baby will stay behind. Some day the child will grow into a man better able to realize that the worker can gain nothing unless he puts his class above his own personal welfare. And some day the whistle just sounding as the curtain descends will not be pulled by bosses. Miners like those who are now answering its call will have hold of the cord.

At the bottom of Mr. Maltz's drama there obviously lies the conflict between honor and love. It has served playwrights for some hundreds of years, and there is probably no reason why it should not serve them for some centuries more. But it cannot reach its maximum dramatic effectiveness unless the elements are more or less evenly matched, unless one feels the tug of emotion against the tug of duty; and it is precisely the defect of the present play that the persons are not real enough to give much weight to the purely human side of their struggle. It would not be fair to say that they are mere puppets; they are, as a matter of fact, far more credible than the characters in a great many revolutionary dramas. Yet the fact remains that the author is primarily interested in his cause. He seems to make almost unwillingly a concession to necessity when he bothers at all about the personality of the individuals who are important to him only because they happen to be protagonists in the struggle between capital and labor. The inevitable result is not only that the play must remain rather more a sermon than anything else, but also that the very conflict in the breast of the protagonist is stated without being made very real. My own opinion is that the revolutionary dramatist must ultimately learn to do one of two things: either he must find some way of writing plays in which the elements of character, personality, and concern for the fate of the individual are entirely left out or, if he finds that impossible, he must learn to have in them an interest as deep and real as the interest of the dramatists for whom they have been the chief concern.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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